The Greek Life of St. Leo bishop of Catania

(*BHG* 981b)

Text & Notes by A. G. Alexakis

Translation by S. Wessel

Société des Bollandistes

Bruxelles 2011

Subsidia hagiographica

91

Société des Bollandistes
Bruxelles 2011

ISSN 0777-8112
ISBN 978-2-87365-026-1
D/2011/0524/01
Imprimé en Belgique

CONTENTS

PREFACE

It took a long time completing this book, the reason being that it was not originally conceived as a book: Its inception can be traced back to the spring semester of 1995, when I gave my first seminar on Byzantine Hagiography at Columbia University of New York. Among the twenty students of that course were included a few graduate ones who had some knowledge of Ancient Greek. Three of them undertook the translation of a few Saints' Lives and it was Susan Wessel (now a Professor) who picked at random and translated the Life of Leo of Catania based on the edition of V. Latyšev. It is her translation — slightly improved by herself — that is included in this book. For the next five years I kept the translation along with Latyšev's edition in one of my folders. I also used it as reading material for the Dumbarton Oaks reading group in 1998 in Washington DC. Next, I presented a few aspects of the Life of Leo at the Seminar in Hellenic Studies I organized in 1999 as a Fellow in Hellenic Studies at Brasenose College, Oxford. Eventually, in 2001, when I was teaching at the Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, I started working on the detailed commentary to the translated text. Around that time, I had an initial contact with Dr. Xavier Lequeux, on whether the *Analecta Bollandiana* would be interested in publishing a translated text with Commentary. In his response, Dr. Lequeux encouraged me to transform the whole project into a proper book with a critical edition of the text the translation was based on and the mandatory Introduction. Two years earlier, in 1999, serendipity had brought Natalia Tchernetska to Dumbarton Oaks. The young paleographer asked me then to take a look at some lines of a text she could not recognize and this led me to the identification of a St. Petersburg palimpsest as a source for the Life of Leo. That meeting, (combined later with the advice of Dr. Lequeux), convinced me that a book on Leo of Catania was a worthwhile endeavor. Owing to a Research Grant by Stockton College, I was able to finish the first draft of the book in the summer of 2001.

Since then, the book has undergone numerous changes and the list of colleagues and friends to whom I wish to extend my thanks has grown long. The lions' share of my gratitude belongs to Dr. Xavier Lequeux whose painstaking work on my drafts has saved me from a number of extreme and unnecessary emendations I had originally adopted in the critical edition of the text and helped me get rid of much redundant information I had included in this book. Next in line is my long-time friend Mrs. Cheli Duran, (an author in her own right) who brushed up the English of the major part of the manuscript and made it readable for an English-speaking audience. Many thanks are also due to my Διδάσκαλος Prof. Cyril Mango for having read the first draft of the book and made numerous suggestions and corrections. I also wish to thank the following colleagues from whom I received considerable help regarding various aspects of this book: Jan M. Ziolkowski shared his knowledge on magic and on Devil in the Western tradition with me. Henry Maguire turned my attention to the Khludov Psalter. Instrumental in acquiring a video of the St. Petersburg palimpsest was the late Prof. Jacob Ljubarskij. Roger Bagnall and Allan Cameron offered a number of constructive suggestions in the course of a philological meeting on Leo of Catania in New York some day in the spring of 2002. George Makris was kind enough to discuss with me a number of editorial choices I made and also a few texts written by Joseph the Hymnographer. Eutychios Tomadakis (Univ. of Athens) was extremely generous with his work on Joseph the Hymnographer and I also wish to thank him for allowing me to consult a number of texts by the same author that he had not published yet, when I was correcting this book. I wish to thank the Revd. Prof. Demetrios Constantelos for his support while I was working at the Richard Stockton College of New Jersey. Many thanks are also due to the extremely efficient personnel of the Interlibrary Loan Service of the excellent Library of that Institution, Barbara Jones (now retired) and Susan Bucikowski. I also wish to thank Michel Cacouros, Claudia Ludwig, Athanasios Markopoulos, Alice-Mary Talbot and the members of the Dumbarton Oaks reading group (George Dennis SJ, Elizabeth Fisher, Dennis Sullivan, Stamatina McGrath and all the others who, I hope, will forgive my forgetfulness), for a number of useful suggestions and references they gave me on various occasions. Any mistakes and inaccuracies are my own responsibility.

Finally, I am grateful to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessalonike and the

National Library of Greece in Athens for the photocopies and photographs of the manuscripts in their possession I was allowed to use for my critical edition.

This list would not be complete without the names of my wife, Georgia, my son's George, my daughter's Maria-Irene and of my friend B. Gregoropoulos, whose practical help in the various stages of the writing and corrections of this book has been invaluable.

Before closing this brief preface I find it appropriate to warn the reader about the existence of some discrepancies in the spelling of proper names of ancient and Byzantine authors. This is the result of relying exclusively and on grounds of formality on two major sources: the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (*TLG*) Canon and the entries in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (*BHG*) which use different standards. This is the reason why, for example, Joannes in patristic or secular texts becomes Ioannes in hagiography.

I hope the readers will enjoy this book as much as I enjoyed doing research on it.

Alexander Alexakis
Ioannina, 20 February 2011

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Serial Publications, Periodicals, Reference

AASS *Acta Sanctorum,* 71 vols. (Antwerp – Brussels – Paris, 1643-1940).
AB *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, 1882-).
ACO *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum,* ed. E. SCHWARTZ et al. (Berlin – Leipzig, 1914-).
ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.*
BBA Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten.
BECK, *KthL* H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* [Byzantinisches Handbuch] (Munich, 1959).
BHG *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca,* 3rd ed., ed. F. HALKIN, 3 vols. [SH 8a] (Brussels, 1957).
BHG Auct *Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae,* ed. F. HALKIN [SH 47] (Brussels, 1969).
BHG NovAuct *Novum auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae,* ed. F. HALKIN [SH 65] (Brussels, 1984).
BHL *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis,* ed. Socii Bollandiani, 2 vols. [SH 6] (Brussels, 1898-1901; repr. 1992); *Novum Supplementum,* ed. H. FROS [SH 70] (Brussels, 1984).
BSl *Byzantinoslavica.*
ByzF *Byzantinische Forschungen.*
ByzSt *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines.*
BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift.*
CahArch *Cahiers archéologiques.*
The Catholic Encyclopedia Available online at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/ An online edition of The Catholic Encyclopedia, 15 vols. (New York NY, 1909-1912).
CCSG Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca.
CFHB Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae.
C.N.R.S. Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
CPG *Clavis Patrum graecorum,* ed. M. GEERARD and F. GLORIE, 5 vols. [CCSG] (Turnhout, 1974-1987); *Supplementum,* cura et studio M. GEERARD et J. NORET [CCSG] (Turnhout, 1998).
CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CSHB Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, ed. B. G. NIEBUHR et al. (Bonn, 1828-1897) (with date of individual volumes in parentheses).

CTh	*Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes,* ed. Th. MOMMSEN and P. M. MEYER, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Berlin, 1905).
CUF	Collection des Universités de France.
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers.*
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies.
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts.
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.*
EEBΣ	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.*
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte.
JC	Canon of Joseph the Hymnographer for Leo of Catania.
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies.*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik.* – Note: before 1969, *Jahrbuch der Österreich. Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (JÖBG).*
KJV	*The Holy Bible, the King James Version* (N. York, American Bible Society, No Date).
LAMPE	G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961-1968).
LCI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* vols. I-VIII, ed. E. KIRSCHBAUM, and W. BRAUNFELS (Rome – Freiburg – Basel – Vienna, 1994).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
LL	*Life of Leo of Catania (all versions).*
LSJ	H. G. LIDDELL et al. (eds.), *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968).
MANSI	J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* 53 vols. in 58 pts. (Paris – Leipzig, 1901-1927).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
NHRF	National Hellenic Research Foundation.
OC	*Oriens Christianus.*
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta.
OCD	S. HORNBLOWER and A. SPAWFORTH (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford – New York, Oxford UP, 1996[3]).
ODB	A. KAZHDAN et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* 3 vols. (New York – Oxford, Oxford UP, 1991).
PBE	J. R. MARTINDALE (ed.), *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, I: 641-867,* in CD form (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca,* ed. J.-P. MIGNE, 161 vols. in 166 pts. (Paris, 1857-1866).
PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae,* ed. K. PREISENDANZ, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1928, 1931) see also below under Primary Sources.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina,* ed. J.-P. MIGNE, 221 vols. in 222 pts. (Paris, 1844-1880).
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* ed. E. TRAPP et al. (Vienna, 1976-).
PmbZ	R.-J. LILIE et al. (eds.), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit,* 6 vols. (Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 1998-2002).

PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien.
RAC	Th. KLAUSER et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon f. Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1950-).
RE	*Paulys Real-encyclopädie der class. Altertumwissenschaft,* new rev. ed. by G. WISSOWA [and W. KROLL] (Stuttgart, 1894-1978).
REB	*Revue des Études byzantines.*
RESEE	*Revue des Études sud-est européennes.*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi byzantini e neoellenici.*
RSV	*The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version* (Camden NJ, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966).
SBN	Studi byzantini e neoellenici.
SC	Sources Chrétiennes.
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica.
ST	Studi e Testi.
Synax. CP	H. DELEHAYE (ed.), *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae = AASS,* Nov. Propylaeum (Brussels, 1902).
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, Digitized Library of Greek Texts* (in CD form and on line at http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/inst/fontsel), property of the Regents of the University of California at Irvine.
TM	*Travaux et mémoires.*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig – Berlin, 1882-).
VChr	*Vigiliae christianae.*
VLA	See below *Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae (BHG 981).*
VLB	See below *Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae (BHG 981b).*
VLL	See below *Laudatio Leonis ep. Cataniae (BHG 981d).*
VLM	See below *Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae metrica (BHG 981c).*
VLW	See below *Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae in menologio imp. inserta (BHG NovAuct 981e).*
VV	*Vizantiiskii Vremennik.*
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta, Srpska Akademija nauka.*

Primary Sources

a) Non-Christian Authors

Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata:* L. SPENGEL (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci,* vol. 2 [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1854; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 59-130.

Aeschines, *In Ctesiphonem:* V. MARTIN and G. DE BUDÉ (eds.), *Eschine. Discours,* vol. 2 [CUF] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1928; repr. 1962), pp. 25-117.

Antoninus Liberalis (1st cent. AD), *Metamorphoseon synagoge:* I. CAZZANIGA (ed.), *Antoninus Liberalis. Metamorphoseon synagoge* (Milan, 1962), pp. 12-77.

Aristoteles, *Analytica priora:* W. D. ROSS (ed.), *Aristotelis analytica priora et posteriora* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 3-113.

—, *Ethica Nicomachea:* I. BYWATER (ed.), *Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894; repr. 1962).

Aspasius, *In ethica Nicomachea commentaria:* G. HEYLBUT (ed.), *Aspasii in ethica Nicomachea quae supersunt commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 19.1] (Berlin, 1889).

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae:* G. KAIBEL (ed.), *Athenaei Naucratitae deipnosophistarum libri XV,* 3 vols. [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1887-1890).

Demetrius, *Περὶ ἑρμανείας:* L. RADERMACHER (ed.), *Demetrii Phalerei qui dicitur de elocutione libellus* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1901; repr. Stuttgart, 1967), pp. 3-62.

Demosthenes, *Orat. 7, De Halloneso:* S. H. BUTCHER (ed.), *Demosthenis orationes,* vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903; repr. 1966), pp. [76-88].

—, *Orat. 17, Περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν* [sp.]: BUTCHER (ed.), op. cit., pp. [211-220].

Dinarchus, *In Philoclem:* N. C. CONOMIS (ed.), *Dinarchi orationes cum fragmentis* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1975), pp. 65-72.

Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae philosophorum:* H. S. LONG (ed.), *Diogenis Laertii vitae philosophorum,* 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1964).

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *De compositione verborum:* H. USENER and L. RADERMACHER (eds.), *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant,* vol. 6 [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner 1929; repr. Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 3-143.

Euripides, *Hypsipyle:* G. W. BOND (ed.), *Euripides. Hypsipyle* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963).

Flavius Claudius Julianus, *Περὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πράξεων ἢ περὶ βασιλείας:* J. BIDEZ (ed.), *L'empereur Julien. Oeuvres complètes,* vol. 1.1 [CUF] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1932), pp. 116-180.

Flavius Josephus, *De bello Judaico:* B. NIESE (ed.), *Flavii Iosephi opera,* vol. 6 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1895; repr. 1955), pp. 3-628.

Harpocration, *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos:* W. DINDORF (ed.), *Harpocrationis lexicon in decem oratores Atticos,* vol. 1 (Oxford, Oxford UP, 1853).

Hermogenes, *Περὶ εὑρέσεως:* H. RABE (ed.), *Hermogenis opera* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913), pp. 93-212.

—, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου:* RABE (ed.), op. cit.,, pp. 213-413.

—, *Περὶ στάσεων:* RABE (ed.), op. cit., pp. 28-92.

Hesiodus, *Theogonia:* M. L. WEST (ed.), *Hesiod. Theogony* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 111-149.

Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica:* U. KLEIN (ed. post L. DEUBNER), *Iamblichi de vita Pythagorica liber* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1937; repr. Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 1-147.

—, *Protrepticus:* H. PISTELLI (ed.), *Iamblichi protrepticus ad fidem codicis Florentini* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1888; repr. Stuttgart, 1967), pp. 3-126.

Menander rhetor, *Περὶ διαιρέσεως ἐπιδεικτικῶν:* Ch. WALTZ (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci,* vol. 9 (Osnabrück, 1968), pp. 126-330.

—, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν:* L. SPENGEL (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci,* vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 368-446.

Philo Judaeus, *De Abrahamo:* L. COHN (ed.), *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt,* vol. 4 (Berlin, Reimer, 1902; repr. Berlin, De Gruyter, 1962).

Phrynichus, *Praeparatio sophistica:* J. DE BORRIES (ed.), *Phrynichi sophistae praeparatio sophistica* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1911), pp. 130-180.

Plato, *Definitiones* [sp.]: J. BURNET (ed.), *Platonis opera,* vol. 5 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907; repr. 1967), 411a-416a.

—, *Phaedo:* BURNET (ed.), op. cit., vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900; repr. 1967), 57a-118a.

Plutarchus, *De vitioso pudore* (528c-536d): M. POHLENZ (ed.), *Plutarchi moralia,* vol. 3 [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1929; repr. 1972), pp. 346-365.

Pollux Julius, *Ὀνομαστικόν:* E BETHE (ed.), *Pollucis onomasticon,* 2 vols. [Lexicographi Graeci 9.1-9.2] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1900-1931; repr. Stuttgart, 1967).

Polybius, *Historiae:* T. BÜTTNER-WOBST (ed.), *Polybii historiae,* vols. 1-4 [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1889-1905; repr. Stuttgart, Teubner, 1962-1967).

Proclus, *In Platonis rem publicam commentarii:* W. KROLL (ed.), *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem publicam commentarii,* 2 vols. [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1899 and 1901; repr. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1965).

—, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria:* E. DIEHL (ed.), *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria,* 3 vols. (Leipzig, Teubner, 1903-1906; repr. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1965).

—, *De providentia et fato et eo quod in nobis ad Theodorum mechanicum:* H. BOESE (ed.), *Procli Diadochi tria opuscula* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1960), p. 117-171.

Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca:* J. G. FRAZER (ed.), *Apollodorus, The Library,* vols. 1-2 [LCL 121-122] (Cambridge MA, Harvard UP, 1921).

Rhetor anonymus, *Progymnasmata:* C. WALZ (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci,* vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1832; repr. Osnabrück, 1968), pp. 597-648.

Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos:* H. MUTSCHMANN and J. MAU (eds.), *Sexti Empirici opera,* vols. 2-3 [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1914, 1963).

Sophocles, *Antigone:* A. DAIN and P. MAZON (eds.), *Sophocle,* vol. 1 [CUF] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1955; repr. 1967), pp. 72-122.

Strabo, *Geographica:* A. MEINEKE (ed.), *Strabonis geographica,* 3 vols. [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1877; repr. Graz, 1969).

Tryphon Alexandrinus, *Περὶ τρόπων:* L. SPENGEL (ed.), *Rhetores Graeci,* vol. 3 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1856; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1966), pp. 191-206.

Vettius Valens, *Anthologiarum libri IX:* W. KROLL (ed.), *Vettii Valentis anthologiarum libri* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1908; repr. 1973).

Xenophon, *Anabasis:* E. C. MARCHANT (ed.), *Xenophontis opera omnia,* vol. 3 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904).

b) Patristic Texts

Anonymus dialogus cum Iudaeis: J. H. DECLERCK (ed.), *Anonymus dialogus cum Iudaeis saeculi ut videtur sexti* [CCSG 30] (Turnhout, Brepols, 1994), pp. 3-111.

Asterius Sophista, *Commentarii in Psalmos,* hom. 31: M. RICHARD (ed.), *Asterii sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* [Symbolae Osloenses, fasc. suppl. 16] (Oslo, 1956), pp. 3-245.

Athanasius Alexandrinus, *De incarnatione contra Apollinarium libri II* [sp.]: *PG* 26, cols. 1093-1165.

—, *Didascalia cccxviii patrum Nicaenorum* [sp.]: *PG* 28, cols. 1637-1644.

—, *Expositiones in Psalmos: PG* 27, cols. 60-589.

—, *Historia Arianorum:* H.-G. OPITZ (ed.), *Athanasius Werke,* vol. 2.1: *Die Apologien,* 8. *Historia arianorum* (c. 32 - Schluss) (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1940), pp. 183-230.

—, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* [sp.]: *PG* 28, cols. 597-700.

—, *Vita Antonii* (*BHG* 140): G. J. M. BARTELINK (ed.), *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine* [SC 400] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1994), pp. 124-376 = PG 26, cols. 837-976.

Basilius Caesariensis, *Epistulae:* Y. COURTONNE (ed.), *Saint Basile. Lettres,* 3 vols. [CUF] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1957-1963).

—, *Homilia in illud: Attende tibi ipsi:* S. Y. RUDBERG (ed.), *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot "Observe-toi toi-même"* [Studia Graeca Stockholmiensia 2] (Stockholm, 1962), pp. 23-37.

—, *Homiliae in hexaemeron:* S. GIET (ed.), *S. Basile de Césarée. Homélies sur l'hexaéméron* [SC 26bis] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1968²), pp. 86-522.

—, *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses* (*Hom.* XIX; *BHG* 1205): *PG* 31, cols. 508-525.

—, *Sermo de contubernalibus* [sp.]: *PG* 30, cols. 812-828.

Constitutiones Apostolorum: M. METZGER (ed.), *Les constitutions apostoliques,* vol. 2 [SC 329] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1986), pp. 116-394.

Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam: PG* 70, cols. 9-1449.

—, *Commentarii in Joannem:* P. E. PUSEY (ed.), *S. P. N. Cyrilli archiep. Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium,* 3 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1872; repr. Brussels, 1965).

—, *Commentarius in XII prophetas minores*: P. E. PUSEY (ed.), *S. P. N. Cyrilli archiep. Alexandrini in XII prophetas,* vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1868; repr. Brussels, 1965).

Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Job* (5.1-6.29): A. HENRICHS (ed.), *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob,* pt. 2 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 2] (Bonn, Habelt, 1968), pp. 14-194.

—, *De Trinitate* (lib. 3) [sp.]: *PG* 39, cols. 773-992.

—, *Fragmenta in Psalmos (e commentario altero):* E. MÜHLENBERG (ed.), *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung,* 2 vols. [PTS 15-16] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1975 and 1977).

—, *In Genesim:* P. NAUTIN and L. DOUTRELEAU (eds.), *Didyme l'Aveugle. Sur la Genèse,* vols. 1-2 [SC 233, 244] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1976 and 1978).

Epiphanius Constantiensis, *Anacephalaeosis* [sp.]: K. HOLL (ed.), *Epiphanius,* Bd. 1: *Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25] (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915), pp. 162-168.

—, *Panarion (Adversus haereses):* K. HOLL (ed.), *Epiphanius,* Bd. 1-3: *Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25, 31, 37] (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915-1933).

Epistula trium patriarcharum (*BHG* 1386): J. A. MUNITIZ et al. (eds.), *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts* (London, Porphyrogenitus, 1997), pp. 1-131.

Eusebius Caesariensis, *Commentarius in Isaiam:* J. ZIEGLER (ed.), *Eusebius Werke,* Bd. 9: *Der Jesajakommentar* [GCS] (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1975), pp. 3-441.

—, *Demonstratio evangelica:* I. A. HEIKEL (ed.), *Eusebius Werke,* Bd. 6: *Die Demonstratio evangelica* [GCS 23] (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1913).

—, *Historia Ecclesiastica:* G. BARDY (ed.), *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique,* vols. 1 and 2 [SC 31, 41] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1952 and 1955).

—, *Praeparatio evangelica:* K. MRAS (ed.), *Eusebius Werke,* Bd. 8: *Die Praeparatio evangelica* [GCS 43.1-2] (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1954-1956).

—, *Vita Constantini* (*BHG NovAuct* 361x): F. WINKELMANN (ed.), *Eusebius Werke,* Bd. 1.1: *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* [GCS] (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1975), pp. 15-151.

Eustathius Antiochenus, *Commentarius in Hexaemeron* [sp.]: *PG* 18, cols. 708-793.

Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Contra Julianum imp.* (*Or.* IV): J. BERNARDI (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 4-5: Contre Julien* [SC 309] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1983), pp. 86-293 = PG 35, cols. 532-664.

—, *In laudem Caesarii fratris oratio* (*Or.* VII; *BHG* 286): F. BOULENGER (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* (Paris, Picard, 1908), pp. 2-56 = *PG* 35, cols. 756-788.

—, *In laudem Athanasii* (*Or.* XXI; *BHG* 186): J. MOSSAY (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 20-23* [SC 270] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1980), pp. 110-192 = *PG* 35, cols. 1081-1128.

—, *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* XXIV; *BHG* 457): J. MOSSAY (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 24-26* [SC 284] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1981), pp. 40-84 = *PG* 35, cols. 1169-1193.

—, *In sancta lumina* (*Or.* XXXIX; *BHG* 1938): J. MORESCHINI (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38-41* [SC 358] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1990), pp. 150-196 = PG 36, cols. 336-360.

—, *In sanctum baptisma* (*Or.* XL; *BHG* 1947): MORESCHINI (ed.), op. cit., pp. 150-310 = *PG* 36, cols. 360-425.

—, *In laudem Basilii Magni* (*Or.* XLIII; *BHG* 245): J. BERNARDI (ed.), *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 42-43* [SC 384] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1992), pp. 116-306 = *PG* 36, cols. 493-605.

—, *Liturgia sancti Gregorii* [sp.]: *PG* 36, cols. 700-733.

Gregorius Nyssenus, *De instituto Christiano:* W. JAEGER (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni opera,* vol. 8.1 (Leiden, Brill, 1963), pp. 40-89 = *PG* 46, cols. 288-305.

—, *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum:* JAEGER (ed.), op. cit., pp. 173-214 = *PG* 46, cols. 252-285.

—, *De sancto Theodoro* (*BHG* 1760): J. P. CAVARNOS (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni sermones,* Pars II (Leiden, Brill, 1990), pp. 59-72 = *PG* 46, cols. 736-748.

—, *De virginitate:* M. AUBINEAU (ed.), *Grégoire de Nysse. Traité de la virginité* [SC 119] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1966), pp. 246-560 = *PG* 46, cols. 317-416.

—, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (*BHG* 715): G. HEIL (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni sermones,* Pars II (Leiden, Brill, 1990), pp. 1-57 = *PG* 46, cols. 893-957.

—, *In Ecclesiasten:* P. ALEXANDER (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni opera,* vol. 5 (Leiden, Brill, 1962), pp. 277-442 = *PG* 44, cols. 616-753.

Hippolytus, *De antichristo* (*BHG* 812zb): H. ACHELIS (ed.), *Hippolyt's kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* [GCS 1.2] (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897), pp. 3-47 = *PG* 10, cols. 725-788.

—, *De consummatione mundi* [sp.]: ACHELIS (ed.), op. cit., pp. 289-309.

—, *Fragmenta in Proverbia* [sp.]: ACHELIS (ed.), op. cit., pp. 169-175 = *PG* 10, cols. 615-628.

—, *Refutatio omnium haeresium:* M. MARCOVICH (ed.), *Hippolytus. Refutatio omnium haeresium* [PTS 25] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1986), pp. 53-417 = *PG* 16, cols. 3017-3454.

Ignatius Antiochenus, *Epistula ad Philadelphios* [sp.]: F. X. FUNK and F. DIEKAMP (eds.), *Patres Apostolici,* vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1913), pp. 159-190.

Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses:* W. W. HARVEY (ed.), *S. Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses,* vol. 1 (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1857).

Joannes Chrysostomus, *Ad Demetrium de compunctione liber I: PG* 47, cols. 393-410.

—, *Ad illuminandos catecheses* 1-2: *PG* 49, cols. 223-240.

—, *Adversus Judaeos* (*Orat.* 1-8): *PG* 48, cols. 843-942.

—, *De decem millium talentorum debitore: PG* 51, cols. 17-30.

—, *De jejunio* (*Sermones* 1-7) [sp.]: *PG* 60, cols. 711-724.

—, *De Joseph et de castitate* (*BHG* 2201) [sp.]: *PG* 56, cols. 587-590.

—, *De Lazaro* (*Hom.* 1-7; *BHG* 1700z): *PG* 48, cols. 963-1054.

—, *De Maccabeis* (*Hom.* 1-3; *BHG* 1008-1010): *PG* 50, cols. 617-628.

—, *De paenitentia* [sp.]: *PG* 59, cols. 757-766.

—, *De paenitentia* (*Sermo* 2) [sp.]: *PG* 60, cols. 699-706.

—, *De precatione* (*Orat.* 1-2) [sp.]: *PG* 50, cols. 775-786.

—, *De sancta Pelagia* (*BHG* 1477): *PG* 50, cols. 579-584.

—, *De sancto hieromartyre Babyla* (*BHG* 207): *PG* 50, cols. 527-534.

—, *Expositiones in Psalmos: PG* 55, cols. 39-498.

—, *Fragmenta in Jeremiam (in catenis): PG* 64, cols. 730-1037.

—, *In Acta apostolorum* (*Hom.* 1-55; *BHG* 2102x): *PG* 60, cols. 13-384.

—, *In adorationem venerandae crucis* (*BHG* 415) [sp.]: *PG* 62, cols. 747-754.

—, *In annuntiationem Deiparae* (*BHG* 1144h) [sp.]: *PG* 62, cols. 763-770.

—, *In diem natalem* (*BHG* 1892): *PG* 49, cols. 351-362.

—, *In Epistulam I ad Corinthios* (*Hom.* 1-44): *PG* 61, cols. 9-382.

—, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos* (*Hom.* 1-34): *PG* 63, cols. 9-236.

—, *In Epistulam I ad Thessalonicenses* (*Hom.* 1-11): *PG* 62, cols. 391-468.

—, *In illud: Domine, non est in homine: PG* 56, cols. 153-162.

—, *In illud: Exiit qui seminat* [sp.]: *PG* 61, cols. 771-776.

—, *In illud: Memor fui dei* [sp.]: *PG* 61, cols. 689-698.

—, *In illud: Sufficit tibi gratia mea* [sp.]: *PG* 59, cols. 507-516.

—, *In Joannem* (*Hom.* 1-88): *PG* 59, cols. 23-482.

—, *In Matthaeum* (*Hom.* 1-90): *PG* 57, cols. 13-472, and *PG* 58, cols. 471-794.

—, *In Psalmum 50* (*Hom.* 2) [sp.]: *PG* 55, cols. 575-588.

—, *In Psalmum 118* (*Hom.* 1-3) [sp.]: *PG* 55, cols. 675-708.

—, *In sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem* (*BHG* 1658) [sp.]: *PG* 59, cols. 501-508.

—, *Precatio* [sp.]: *PG* 64, cols. 1064-1068.

Joannes Damascenus, *De octo spiritibus nequitiae* (fragmentum) [sp.]: *PG* 95, cols. 80-84.

—, *Dialectica sive Capita philosophica (recensio fusior):* B. KOTTER (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos,* vol. 1 [PTS 7] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1969), pp. 47-95 and 101-142.

—, *Encomium in s. Joannem Chrysostomum* (*BHG* 879): *PG* 96, cols. 761-781.

—, *Epistula ad Theophilum imp.* (*BHG* 1387) [sp.]: J. A. MUNITIZ et al. (eds.), *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts* (London, Porphyrogenitus, 1997), pp. 143-205.

—, *Expositio fidei:* B. KOTTER (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos,* vol. 2 [PTS 12] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1973), pp. 3-239.

—, *Homilia in Sabbatum sanctum: PG* 96, cols. 601-644.

—, *Laudatio sanctae Barbarae* (*BHG* 217): *PG* 96, cols. 781-813.

—, *Oratio de his qui in fide dormierunt* [sp.]: *PG* 95, cols. 248-277.

—, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* (*BHG* 1391e-g): B. KOTTER (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos,* vol. 3 [PTS 17] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 65-200.

—, *Passio sancti Artemii* (*BHG* 170) [dub.]: *PG* 96, cols. 1252-1320.

—, *Sacra parallela: PG* 95, cols. 1040-1588, and *PG* 96, cols. 9-441.

—, *Vita Barlaam and Joasaph* (*BHG* 224) [sp.]: G. R. WOODWARD and H. MATTINGLY (eds.), *St. John Damascene. Barlaam and Joasaph* [LCL 34] (Cambridge MA, Harvard UP, 1914; repr. 1983), pp. 2-610.

Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia:* J. H. DECLERCK (ed.), *Maximi confessoris quaestiones et dubia* [CCSG 10] (Turnhout, Brepols, 1982) = PG 90, cols. 786-856.

Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin:* H. C. HOSKIER (ed.), *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse* (Ann Arbor MI, University of Michigan, 1928), pp. 29-260.

Pseudo-Clemens Romanus, *Homiliae* [sp.]: B. REHM et al. (eds.), *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien* [GCS 42] (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1969), pp. 23-281.

Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus:* B. R. SUCHLA (ed.), *Corpus Dionysiacum,* I: *Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus* [PTS 33] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1990), pp. 107-231.

—, *De coelesti hierarchia:* G. HEIL and A. M. RITTER (eds.), *Corpus Dionysiacum,* II: *Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae* [PTS 36] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 7-59.

Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula magna:* W. JAEGER (ed.), *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden, Brill, 1954), pp. 233-301.

Pseudo-Nonnus, *Scholia mythologica:* J. NIMMO SMITH (ed.), *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii* [CCSG 27] (Turnhout, Brepols, 1992), pp. 67-272.

Romanus Melodus, *Cantica:* J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS (ed.), *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes,* vols. 1-5 [SC 99, 110, 114, 128, 283] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1964-1981).

Severianus Gabalensis, *De tribus pueris* (*BHG* 488f): *PG* 56, cols. 593-600.

Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica:* W. BRIGHT (ed.), *Socrates' Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. 1-330.

Sozomenus Salaminius Hermias, *Historia ecclesiastica:* J. BIDEZ and G. C. HANSEN (eds.), *Sozomenus. Kirchengeschichte* [GCS 50] (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1960).

Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *De Sancta Trinitate: PG* 75, cols. 1148-1189.

—, *Explanatio in Canticum canticorum: PG* 81, cols. 28-213.

—, *Historia ecclesiastica:* L. PARMENTIER and F. SCHEIDWEILER (eds.), *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte* [GCS 44] (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1954), pp. 1-349.

—, *Historia religiosa:* P. CANIVET and A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN (eds.), *Théodoret de Cyr. L'histoire des moines de Syrie,* 2 vols. [SC 234, 257] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1977-1979).

—, *Interpretatio in XIV epistulas sancti Pauli: PG* 82, cols. 36-877.

—, *Interpretatio in Danielem: PG* 81, cols. 1256-1546.

—, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem: PG* 81, cols. 808-1256.

—, *Interpretatio in Psalmos: PG* 80, cols. 857-1997.

—, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum:* N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS and A. SÁENZ-BADILLOS (eds.), *Theodoreti Cyrensis quaestiones in Octateuchum* [Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 17] (Madrid, 1979), pp. 3-318.

Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae:* G. FATOUROS (ed.), *Theodori Studitae Epistulae,* 2 vols. [CFHB 31] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1992).

c) Hagiography

Acta et martyrium Petri (*BHG* 1483-1484): L. VOUAUX (ed.), *Les Actes de Pierre* (Paris, 1922), pp. 398-466.

Acta Ioannis (*BHG* 899-913d): M. BONNET (ed.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha,* vol. 2.1 (Leipzig, Mendelssohn, 1898; repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1972), pp. 151-215.

Acta Petri et Pauli (*BHG* 1490): R. A. LIPSIUS (ed.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig, Mendelssohn, 1891; repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1972), pp. 178-222.

Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae (*BHG* 1877): M. R. JAMES (ed.), *Apocrypha anecdota* I [Texts and Studies 2.3] (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1893), pp. 58-85.

Cyprianus et Iustina (*BHG* 452-452b): L. RADERMACHER (ed.), *Griechische Quellen,* pp. 76-113.

Historia monachorum in Aegypto (*BHG* 1433-1434): A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE (ed.), *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* [SH 53] (Brussels, 1971).

Laudatio Agathae v. m. Catanae (*BHG* 38): E. MIONI (ed.), "L'Encomio di S. Agata di Metodio Patriarca di Constantinopoli", *AB* 68 (1950), pp. 76-93.

Laudatio Dionysii Areopagitae (*BHG* 556): *PG* 4, cols. 617-668.

Laudatio Leonis ep. Cataniae (*BHG* 981d): F. FERLAUTO (ed.), "Un encomio inedito di san Leone Vescovo di Catania (BHG 981d)", in *Byzantino-Sicula III, Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Bruno Lavagnini* [Quaderni, Istituto siciliano di studi byzantini e neoellenici 14] (Palermo, 2000), pp. 108-120 = *VLL*.

Laudatio Nicolai ep. Myrensis a. Andrea Cretensi (*BHG* 1362): G. ANRICH (ed.), *Hagios Nikolaos I* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 419-428.

Laudatio Mocii (*BHG* 1298h): H. DELEHAYE (ed.), "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie", *AB* 31 (1912), pp. 176-187.

Martyres XLII Amorienses. Passio a. Michaele Syncello (*BHG* 1213): V. VASIL'EVSKIJ and P. NIKITIN (eds.), *Skazanija o 42 amorijskich mučenikach* (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 22-36.

Martyrium Petri et Pauli (*BHG* 1491): R. A. LIPSIUS (ed.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig, Mendelssohn, 1891; repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1972), pp. 118-178.

Martyrium Pionii (*BHG* 1546): L. ROBERT (ed.), *Le Martyre de Pionios prêtre de Smyrne* (Washington DC, 1996), pp. 21-32.

Passio Agathae (*BHG* 36): *AASS*, Febr. t. I (1658), pp. 618-620.

Passio Agathae (*BHG* 37): *PG* 114, cols. 1332-1345.

Passio Andreae in Crisi (*BHG* 111): *AASS*, Oct. t. VIII (1853), pp. 135-142.

Passio Basilisci (*BHG* 241): F. HALKIN (ed.), *Saints de Byzance et du Proche-Orient* [Cahiers d'Orientalisme 13] (Genève, Cramer, 1986), pp. 64-70.

Passio Eustathii Placidae (*BHG* 641): *AASS*, Sept. t. VI (1757), pp. 123-135.

Passio Luciae (*BHG* 2241): HALKIN (ed.), op. cit., pp. 17-39.

Passio Tatianae (*BHG* 1699): F. HALKIN (ed.), "Sainte Tatiana, légende grecque d'une 'Martyre romaine'", *AB* 89 (1971), pp. 268-309.

Proterius (*BHG* 253-253a): *Basilii Caesariensis Vita et Miracula a. Amphilochio VII et VIIa*, in L. RADERMACHER (ed.), *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 122-149.

Theophilus (*BHG* 1319, 1321-1322): *Theophili paenitentia*, in L. RADERMACHER (ed.), *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 182-219 and 164-176.

Vita Andreae ap. a. Epiphanio monacho CP (*BHG* 102): *PG* 120, cols. 216-260.

Vita Andreae ep. Cretensis a. Niceta patricio et quaestore (*BHG* 113): A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας* 5 (St. Petersburg, 1899), pp. 169-179 and 422-424.

Vita Antonii: see above Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Vita Antonii*.

Vita Antonii Cauleae a. Nicephoro philosopho (*BHG* 139): P. L. M. LEONE (ed.), " 'L'Encomium in patriarcham Antonium II Cauleam' del filosofo e retore Niceforo", *Orpheus n.s.* 10 (1989), pp. 404-429.

Vita Antonii Iunioris (*BHG* 142-143): A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Συλλογὴ Παλαιστινῆς καὶ Συριακῆς ἁγιολογίας* I, in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskij Sbornik* XIX-3 (= 57) (St. Petersburg, 1907), pp. 186-216.

Vita Athanasiae in Aegina (*BHG* 180): L. CARRAS (ed.), *The Life of St. Athanasia of Aegina*, in A. MOFFAT (ed.), *Maistor* [Byzantina Australiensia 5] (Canberra, 1984), pp. 212-224.

Vita A Athanasii Athonitae a. Athanasio (*BHG* 187): J. NORET (ed.), *Viae duae antiquae S. Athanasii Athonitae* [CCSG 9] (Turnhout – Leuven, 1982), pp. 3-124.

Vita B Athanasii Athonitae (*BHG* 188): NORET (ed.), op. cit., pp. 127-213.

Vita Athanasii ep. Methonensis (*BHG* 196): K. KYRIAKOPOULOS (ed.), *Ἁγίου Πέτρου ἐπισκόπου Βίος καὶ Λόγοι* (Athens, 1976), pp. 44-66.

Vita Basilii Iunioris a. Gregorio discipulo (*BHG* 263, 264b, 264d):

a) S. G. VILINSKIJ (ed.), *Teksty Zitia*, in *Zapiski imperatorskogo novorossijskogo Universiteta* (Odessa, 1911), pp. 283-326 (*BHG* 263) and 326-346 (*BHG* 264b);

b) A. N. VESELOVSKIJ (ed.), *Razyskanija v oblasti duhovnago stiha XI-XVII, vypusk 5 = Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. akademii nauk*, 46, no. 6 *Prilozhenija* (St. Petersburg, 1889), pp. 10-76 (*BHG* 264d) and 53, no. 6 *Prilozhenija* (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 3-176 (*BHG* 263).

Vita Blasii Amoriensis (*BHG* 278), *AASS*, Nov. t. IV (1925), pp. 657-669.

Vita Christophori et Macarii a. Oreste patr. Hierosolym. (*BHG* 312): I. COZZA-LUZI (ed.), *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii* (Rome, 1893), pp. 71-96.

Vita Constantini Iudaei (*BHG* 370): *AASS*, Nov. t. IV (1925), pp. 628-656.

Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum (*BHG* 495): H. GRÉGOIRE (ed.), "Saint Démétrianos, évêque de Chytri (île de Chypre)", *BZ* 16 (1907), pp. 217-237.

Vita Eliae Iunioris (*BHG* 580): G. ROSSI TAIBBI (ed.), *Vita di sant' Elia il Giovane. Testo inedito con traduzione italiana* [Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi, 7; Vite dei santi siciliani, III] (Palermo, 1962), pp. 2-122.

Vita Euaresti (*BHG* 2153): Ch. VAN DE VORST (ed.), "La Vie de S. Évariste, higoumène à Constantinople", *AB* 41 (1923), pp. 295-326.

Vita Eustratii Abgari (*BHG* 645): A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας* 4 (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 367-400 and 5 (1898), pp. 408-410.

Vita Euthymii ep. Sardensis (*BHG* 2145): J. GOUILLARD (ed.), "La Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes († 831)", *TM* 10 (1989), pp. 19-89.

Vita Euthymii Iunioris a. Basilio ep. Thessalonic. (*BHG* 655): L. PETIT (ed.), "Vie et office de saint Euthyme le Jeune", *ROC* 8 (1903), pp. 155-205 and 503-536.

Vita Euthymii patriarchae (*BHG* 651): P. KARLIN-HAYTER (ed.), *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP* [Bibliothèque de Byzantion 3] (Brussels, 1970).

Vita Germani Cosinitzae (*BHG* 698): *AASS*, Maii t. III (1680), Appendix, pp. 7*-12*.

Vita Germani I patriarchae (*BHG* 697): L. LAMZA (ed.), *Patriarch Germanos I von Konstantinopel (701-730)* [Das östliche Christentum, N. F. 27] (Würzburg, 1975), pp. 200-240.

Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini a. Leontio presb. et hegum. S. Sabae Romae (*BHG* 707): A. BERGER (ed.), *Leontios Presbyteros von Rom. Das Leben des Hl. Gregorios von Agrigent* [BBA 60] (Berlin, 1995).

Vita Gregorii Decapolitae (*BHG* 711): G. MAKRIS (ed.), *Ignatios Diakonos und die Vita des Hl. Gregorios Dekapolites* [Byzantinisches Archiv 17] (Stuttgart, 1997).

Vita Gregorii Theologi a. Gregorio presb. (*BHG* 723)· X. LEQUEUX (ed.), *Gregorii presbyteri Vita S. Gregorii Theologi* [CCSG 44] (Turnhout - Leuven, 2001).

Vita Ignatii patr. CP (*BHG* 817): *PG* 105, cols. 487-574.

Vita Ioannicii a. Petro mon. (*BHG* 936): *AASS*, Nov. t. II.1 (1894), pp. 384-435.

Vita Ioannicii a. Saba mon. (*BHG* 935): *AASS*, Nov. t. II.1, pp. 332-383.

Vita Ioannis ep. Catharorum (*BHG* 2184n): *Synax. CP*, cols. 631.42-634.38.

Vita Ioannis Damasceni a. Ioanne Hierosolymitano (*BHG* 864): *PG* 94, cols. 429-490.

Vita Ioannis Psichaitae (*BHG* 896): P. VAN DEN VEN (ed.), "La Vie grecque de S. Jean le Psichaïte", *Le Muséon* 21 (1902), pp. 103-123.

Vita Iosephi hymnographi a. Theophane (*BHG* 944): A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Monumenta Graeca et Latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1901), pp. 1-14.

Vita Irenae in Chrysobalanto (*BHG* 952): J. O. ROSENQVIST (ed.), *The Life of Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 1] (Uppsala, 1986).

Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae (*BHG* 981): A. ACCONCIA LONGO (ed.), "La Vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro", *RSBN* 26 (1989), pp. 80-98 = *VLA*.

Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae (*BHG* 981b): V. LATYŠEV (ed.), *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty (Hagiographica Graeca inedita)* [Mémoires de l'Academie impériale des Sciences de St.-Péterbourg, Ser. VIII, Vol. XII.2] (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. viii-xix (introduction), pp. 12-28 (text) = *VLB*.

Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae metrica (*BHG* 981c): D. RAFFIN (ed.), "La Vita metrica anonima di Leone di Catania", *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferatta* 16 (1962), pp. 37-48 = *VLM*.

Vita Leonis ep. Cataniae in menologio imperiali (*BHG NovAuct* 981e): V. LATYŠEV (ed.), *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saec. X quae supersunt*, vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 111-18 = *VLW*.

Vita Macarii Pelecetae a. Saba mon. (*BHG* 1003): J. VAN DEN GHEYN (ed.), "S. Macarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni Acta Graeca", *AB* 16 (1897), pp. 142-163.

Vita Methodii I patriarchae (*BHG* 1278): *PG* 100, cols. 1243-1262.

Vita Michaelis Syncelli (*BHG* 1296): M. B. CUNNINGHAM (ed.), *The Life of Michael the Synkellos* [Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 1] (Belfast, 1991).

Vita Nicephori I patriarchae a. Ignatio diac. (*BHG* 1335): C. DE BOOR (ed.), *Nicephori patriarchae CP. opuscula historica* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, 1880; repr. New York, 1975), pp. 139-217.

Vita Nicephori ep. Mileti (*BHG* 1338): T. WIEGAND (ed.), *Der Latmos. Milet. III.1.* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 157-171.

Vita Nicephori Sebaze (*BHG* 2300): F. HALKIN (ed.), "Une victime inconnue de Léon l'Arménien? Saint Nicéphore de Sébazé", *Byzantion* 23 (1953), pp. 18-30.

Vita Nicetae Mediciensis a. Theosterictο (*BHG* 1341): *AASS*, Apr. t. I (1675), Appendix, pp. XXII-XXXII.

Vita Nicetae patricii (*BHG Auct* 1342b, e): D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU (ed.), "Un confesseur du second Iconoclasme: la Vie du patrice Niketas († 836)", *TM* 3 (1968), pp. 309-351.

Vita Nicolai ep. Myrensis a. Michaele archim. (*BHG* 1348): G. ANRICH (ed.), *Hagios Nikolaos I*, pp. 113-139.

Vita Nicolai ep. Myrensis a. Methodio (*BHG* 1352y): ANRICH (ed.), op. cit. (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 140-150.

Vita Nicolai Studitae (*BHG* 1365): *PG* 100, cols. 863-925.

Vita Niconis Metanoeite (*BHG* 1366-1367): D. F. SULLIVAN (ed.), *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline MA, 1987), pp. 26-270.

Vita Petri Athonitae a. Nicolao (*BHG* 1505): K. LAKE (ed.), *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 18-39.

Vita Petri Atroae retractata a. Saba mon. (*BHG* 2365): V. LAURENT (ed.), *La Vita retractata et les Miracles posthumes de saint Pierre d'Atroa* [SH 31] (Brussels, 1958).

Vita Phantini ascetae Tauriani in Calabria et miracula (*BHG* 1508-1509): FOLLIERI (ed.), *Fantino*, pp. 400-470.

Vita Procopii Decapolitae (*BHG* 1583): St. EFTHYMIADIS (ed.), "La Vie inédite de S. Procope le Décapolite (*BHG* 1583)", *AB* 108 (1990), pp. 313-319.

Vita Sabae a. Cyrillo Scythopolit. (*BHG* 1608): E. SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* [TU 49.2] (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 85-200.

Vita Sabae Iunioris a. Oreste ep. Hierosolym. (*BHG* 1611): I. COZZA-LUZI (ed.), *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii* (Rome, 1893), pp. 5-70, and 137-142.

Vita Spyridonis ep. Trimithuntis a. Theodoro (*BHG* 1647 and 1647b): P. VAN DEN VEN (ed.), *La Légende de S. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte* [Bibliothèque du Muséon 33] (Louvain, 1953), pp. 1-103.

Vita Stephani Iunioris a. Stephano diac. (*BHG* 1666): M.-F. AUZÉPY (ed.), *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* [Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3] (Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1997), pp. 87-178.

Vita Stephani Sabaitae a. Leontio (*BHG* 1670): *AASS*, Iul. t. III (1723), pp. 531-631.

Vita Symeonis Sali a. Leontio ep. Neapolit. (*BHG* 1677): L. RYDÈN (ed.), in A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Leontius de Neapolis: Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de*

Jean de Chypre [Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 95] (Paris, Geuthner, 1974), pp. 55-104.

Vita Tarasii a. Ignatio diac. (*BHG* 1698): St. EFTHYMIADIS (ed.), *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* [Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 4] (Aldershot, Ashgate Variorum, 1998), pp. 69-168.

Vita Theodorae Thessalonicensis a. Gregorio clerico (*BHG* 1737-1739): E. KURTZ (ed.), *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wundertaten und Translation der heiligen Theodora von Thessalonich* (St. Petersburg, 1902), pp. 1-49.

Vita Theodori ascetae in Cythera insula a. Leone (*BHG* 2430): N. OIKONOMIDES (ed.), "Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10ος αἰ.)", in *Πρακτικὰ Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου* 1 (Athens, 1967), pp. 281-291.

Vita Theodori Edesseni a. Basilio ep. Emesano (*BHG* 1744): I. POMJALOVSKIJ (ed.), *Zhitie izhe vo sv. otca nashego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo* (St. Petersburg, 1892).

Vita Theodori Studitae a. Michaele mon. Studita (*BHG* 1754): *PG* 99, cols. 233-328.

Vita Theophanis Confessoris a. Methodio patr. CP (*BHG* 1787z): V. LATYŠEV (ed.), *Methodii Patriarchae CP. Vita S. Theophanis confessoris* (St. Petersburg, 1918), pp. 1-40.

Vita Theophano (*BHG* 1794): E. KURTZ (ed.), *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.* (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 1-24.

Vita Theophylacti ep. Nicomediae a. Theophylacto (*BHG* 2451): A. VOGT (ed.), "S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie", *AB* 50 (1932), pp. 71-82.

d) Other Works

Anna Comnene, *Alexias:* B. LEIB (ed.), *Anna Comnène. Alexiade: règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnène,* 3 vols. [Collection byzantine] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1937-1945).

Anthologia Palatina: E. COUGNY (ed.), *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova,* vol. 3 (Paris, Didot, 1890).

Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio:* G. MORAVCSIK (ed.), *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio* [CFHB, Series Washingtonensis, DOT 1] (Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), pp. 44-286.

—, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae:* J. J. REISKE (ed.), *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris de cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo,* vol. 1 [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1829), pp. 386-807.

Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De sententiis:* U. P. BOISSEVAIN (ed.), *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta,* vol. 4: *Excerpta de sententiis* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1906).

—, *Narratio de imagine Edessena* (*BHG* 794): E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ (ed.), *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* [TU, N.F. 3] (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899), pp. 39**-85**.

Eustratius of Thessalonica, *In Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea VI commentaria:* G. HEYLBUT (ed.), *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in ethica Nicomachea commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 20] (Berlin, Reimer, 1892), pp. 256-406.

Eustathius of Thessalonica, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem:* M. VAN DER VALK (ed.), *Eustathii archiep. Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes ad fidem codicis Laurentiani,* 4 vols. (Leiden, Brill, 1971-1987).

—, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam:* G. STALLBAUM (ed.), *Eustathii archiep. Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam,* 2 vols. in 1 (Leipzig, Weigel, 1825-26; repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1970).

Flavius Iustinianus Imperator, *Novellae:* R. SCHÖLL and W. KROLL (eds.), *Corpus iuris civilis,* vol. 3 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1895; repr. 1968).

Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum:* I. BEKKER (ed.), *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope,* vol. 2 [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1839).

Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon:* C. DE BOOR (ed.) (corr. P. WIRTH), *Georgii monachi chronicon,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, Teubner, 1904; repr. Stuttgart, 1978).

—, *Chronicon breve* (lib. 1-6) (redactio recentior): *PG* 110, cols. 41-1260.

Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Chronicon (continuatio, redactio A):* I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1838), pp. 763-924.

Georgius Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι (Libri VI de Michaele Palaeologo):* A. FAILLER and V. LAURENT (eds.), *Georges Pachymérès. Relations historiques,* 2 vols. [CFHB 24.1-2, Series Parisiensis] (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1984), pp. 3-325 and 329-667.

—, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι (Libri VII de Andronico Palaeologo):* I. BEKKER (ed.), *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim,* vol. 2 [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1835), pp. 3-652.

Gregorius I Papa, *Epistula* XIV.1: D. NORBERG (ed.), *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum epistolarum libri,* vol. 2 [CCSL 140A] (Leuven - Turnhout, 1982), p. 1064.

Hesychius, *Lexicon (A-O):* K. LATTE (ed.), *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon,* vols. 1-2 (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1953-1966).

Hippiatrica, Excerpta Lugdunensia: E. ODER and K. HOPPE (eds.), *Corpus hippiatricorum Graecorum,* vol. 2 [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927; repr. 1971), pp. 272-313.

Ignatius Diaconus, *Correspondence:* C. MANGO and St. EFTHYMIADIS (eds.), *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon* [DOT 11] (Washington DC, 1997).

Joannes VI Cantacuzenus, *Historiae:* L. SCHOPEN (ed.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV,* 3 vols. [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1828-1832).

Joannes Lydus, *De magistratibus populi Romani:* A.-C. BANDY (ed.), *Ioannes Lydus. On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State* (Philadelphia, 1983).

Joannes Malalas, *Chronographia:* I. THURN (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [CFHB 35, Series Berolinensis] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1998).

Joannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum:* I. THURN (ed.), *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis Historiarum* [CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1973).

Josephus Genesius, *Βασιλεῖαι:* I. THURN and A. LESMÜLLER-WERNER (eds.), *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor* [CFHB 14, Series Berolinensis] (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1978).

Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis: O. HOLDER-EGGER (ed.), *Agnelli qui et Andreas liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* [MGH Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX] (Hannover, 1878), pp. 265-391 and now, D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *Agnelli Ravennatis liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* [Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis 199] (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006).

Leo Diaconus, *Historia:* K. B. HASE (ed.), *Leonis diaconi Caloënsis historiae libri decem* [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1828), pp. 3-178.

Manuel Philes, *Carmina:* E. MILLER (ed.), *Manuelis Philae Carmina,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1855; repr. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1967).

Michael Psellus, *Opuscula psychologica, theologica, demonologica:* D. J. O'MEARA (ed.), *Pselli Philosophica minora II* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graec. et Roman. Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1989).

—, *Orationes hagiographicae:* E. FISHER (ed.), *Michael Psellus, orationes hagiographicae* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1994).

Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Romana:* L. SCHOPEN and I. BEKKER (eds.), *Nicephori Gregorae Historiae Byzantinae,* 3 vols. [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1829-1855).

Nicolaus I Mysticus, *Epistulae:* R. J. H. JENKINS and L. G. WESTERINK (eds.), *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters* [CFHB 6] (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1973), pp. 2-520.

Pseudo-Mauricius, *Strategikon:* H. MIHAESCU (ed.), *Mauricius. Arta militara* [Scriptores Byzantini 6] (Bucharest, Academie Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1970), pp. 27-380.

Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronographia:* I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius* Monachus [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1838), pp. 603-760.

Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon:* J. A. H. TITTMANN (ed.), *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, Crusius, 1808; repr. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1967).

Scholia vetera in Prometheum victum (Scholia vetera): C. J. HERINGTON (ed.), *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound* (Leiden, Brill, 1972), pp. 59-242.

Scriptor incertus de Leone Armeno: I. BEKKER (ed.), *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia* [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1842), pp. 335-362.

Suda: A. ADLER (ed.), *Suidae lexicon,* 4 vols. [Lexicographi Graeci 1.1-4] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1928-1935; repr. Stuttgart, 1967-1971).

Symeon the New Theologian, *Capita Theologica:* J. DARROUZÈS (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Chapitres théologiques* [SC 51bis] (Paris, Le Cerf, 1992), pp. 40-186, 191.

Theodosius Alexandrinus, *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* [sp.]: K. GÖTTLING (ed.), *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica* (Leipzig, 1822), pp. 1-197.

Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia:* C. DE BOOR (ed.), *Theophanis chronographia,* vol. 1 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1963), pp. 3-503.

Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* (Lib. 1-6): I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* [CSHB] (Bonn, Weber, 1838).

Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae:* C. DE BOOR (ed.), *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana] (Leipzig, Teubner, 1887; repr. Stuttgart, 1972 with corr. by P. WIRTH), pp. 20-314.

Secondary Literature

ACCONCIA LONGO, "A proposito di un articolo": A. ACCONCIA LONGO, "A proposito di un articolo recente sull'agiografia Iconoclasta", *RSBN* N.S. 29 (1992), pp. 3-17.

—, "La Vita": A. ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro", *RSBN* N.S. 26 (1989), pp. 3-79.

—, "Note": A. ACCONCIA LONGO, "Note sul Dossier agiografico di Leone di Catania: la trasmissione della legenda e la figura del Mago Eliodoro", *RSBN* N.S. 44 (2008), pp. 3-38.

ANKARLOO and CLARK, *Witchcraft and Magic:* B. ANKARLOO and St. CLARK (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe,* vol. 2: *Ancient Greece and Rome* [Witchraft and Magic in Europe 2] (Philadelphia PA, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

—, *Witchcraft and Magic III:* B. ANKARLOO and St. CLARK (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe,* vol. 3: *The Middle Ages* [Witchraft and Magic in Europe 3] (Philadelphia PA, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

ANNE WILSON, *Water of Life:* C. ANNE WILSON, *Philosophers, Iosis, and Water of Life,* in *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section,* Vol. XIX, Part V (Leeds, 1984).

AUZÉPY, "L'analyse littéraire": M.-F. AUZÉPY, "L'analyse littéraire et l'historien: l'exemple des Vies de saints iconoclastes", *BSl* 53 (1992), pp. 62-67; repr. EAD., *L'histoire des iconoclastes*, p. 329-340.

—, *L'histoire des iconoclastes:* M.-F. AUZÉPY, *L'histoire des iconoclastes* [Bilans de recherche 2] (Paris, Association du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007).

BERGER, *Das Bad:* A. BERGER, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* [Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27] (Munich, 1982).

BETZ, *Papyri:* H. D. BETZ, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago - London, 1992^{2}).

BREMMER and VEENSTRA, *The Metamorphosis of Magic:* J. N. BREMMER and J. R. VEENSTRA (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* [Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 1] (Leuven, 2002).

BRUBAKER, *Byzantium in the Ninth Century:* L. BRUBAKER (ed.), *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* [Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 5] (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998).

BRYER and HERRIN, *Iconoclasm:* A. BRYER and J. HERRIN (eds.), *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, 1977).

CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum:* O. CAIETANUS (= O. GAETANI), *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum,* vol. II (Palermo, 1657).

CHRISTIDES and JORDAN, *Γλώσσα και Μαγεία:* A. F. CHRISTIDES and D. JORDAN (eds.), *Γλώσσα και Μαγεία. Κείμενα από την Αρχαιότητα* (Athens, 1997).

COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages:* D. COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (transl. E. F. M. BENECKE) (Hamden CO, 1966, rep. Princeton NJ, Princeton Univ. Press, 1997).

CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics*: K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992).

DA COSTA-LOUILLET, "Saints de Sicile": G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIIIe, IXe, et Xe siècles", *Byzantion* 29/30, (1959/60), pp. 89-173.

DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatuum:* J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* [Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin 1] (Paris, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1981).

DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians:* M. W. DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London - New York, Routledge, 2001).

DVORNIK, *Légendes:* F. DVORNIK, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* [BSl Supplementa I] (Hattiesburg MI, 1969^{2}).

EHRHARD, *Überlieferung:* A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16ten Jahrhunderts,* vols. 1-3 [TU 50-52] (Leipzig, 1937-1952).

FASOLI, "Patrimonio della Chiesa": G. FASOLI, "Sul patrimonio della Chiesa ravennate", *Felix Ravenna* 118 (1979), pp. 69-75.

FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito": F. FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito di san Leone Vescovo di Catania (*BHG* 981d)", in *Byzantino-Sicula III, Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Bruno Lavagnini* [Quaderni, Istituto siciliano di studi byzantini e neoellenici 14] (Palermo 2000), pp. 97-121.

FERREIRO, *Simon Magus:* A. FERREIRO, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions* [Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 125] (Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2005).

FESTUGIÈRE, "Lieux communs": A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, "Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes de folk-lore dans l'hagiographie primitive", *Wiener Studien* 73 (1960), pp. 123-153.

FISHER, "Patriarch Nikephoros I": E. FISHER, "Life of The Patriarch Nikephoros I of Constantinople", in TALBOT, *Byzantine Defenders,* pp. 25-148.

FLINT, *The Rise of Magic:* V. I. J. FLINT, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton NJ, 1991).

FOLLIERI, *Fantino:* E. FOLLIERI, *La Vita di San Fantino il Giovane* [SH 77] (Brussels, 1993).

FONKIČ - POLJAKOV, *Grecheskie rukopisei:* B. L. FONKIČ - F. B. POLJAKOV, *Grecheskie rukopisei Moskovskoĭ sinodal'noĭ biblioteki* (Moscow, 1993).

GRAF, *Magic:* F. GRAF, *Magic in the Ancient World* (transl. F. PHILIP) (Cambridge MA, Harvard Univ. Press, 1997).

GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief:* R. P. H. GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1988).

GUAZZO, *Compendium maleficarum:* F. M. GUAZZO, *Compendium maleficarum, The Montague Summers Edition* (transl. E. A. ASHWIN) (London, 1929; repr. Mineola, N.Y., Dover Publications, 1988).

GUILLAND, "L'éparque": R. GUILLAND, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin - L'éparque", *BSl* 41 (1980), pp. 17-32.

HALKIN, "Un synaxaire": F. HALKIN, "Un synaxaire italo-grec", *AB* 21 (1902), pp. 23-28.

JOLLY, "Medieval Magic": K. JOLLY, "Medieval Magic: Definitions, Beliefs, and Practices", in ANKARLOO and CLARK, *Witchcraft and Magic III,* pp. 1-72.

KALOGERAS, *Byzantine Childhood Education:* N. KALOGERAS, *Byzantine Childhood Education and its Social Role from the Sixth Century until the End of Iconoclasm* (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, Dept. of History, 2000).

KAZHDAN, "Byzantine Hagiography": A. KAZHDAN, "Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries", *DOP* 44 (1990), pp. 131-143.

—, *Byzantine Literature:* A. KAZHDAN (in collaboration with L. SHERRY and Chr. ANGELIDI), *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)* [NHRF, Institute for Byzantine Research, Research Series 2] (Athens, 1999).

—, "Holy and unholy": A. KAZHDAN, "Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers", in MAGUIRE, *Byzantine Magic,* pp. 73-82.

—, "Note 19": A. KAZHDAN, "Hagiographical Notes 17-20", *Erytheia* 9.2 (1989), pp. 197-208.

KINGSLEY, *Ancient Philosophy:* P. KINGSLEY, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic: Empedocles and Pythagorean Tradition* (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1996).

KORS and PETERS, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700:* A. Ch. KORS and E. PETERS (eds.), *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700, A Documentary History* (Philadelphia PA, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2001[2]).

KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος:* Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός,* 6 vols. (Athens, 1948-1957).

KRUEGER, *Symeon:* D. KRUEGER, *Symeon the Holy Fool, Leontius' Life and the Late Antique City* [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 25] (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1996).

LAIOU, *Economic History of Byzantium:* A. LAIOU et al. (eds.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century,* 3 vols. [DOS 39] (Washington DC, 2002).

LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* I: S. LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων,* vol. I (Athens, 1888).

LANZONI, *Le diocesi d'Italia:* Mons. F. LANZONI, *Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (an. 604)* [ST 35] (Faenza, 1927).

LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie:* V. LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty (Hagiographica graeca inedita)* [Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de Saint-Péterbourg, Ser. VIII, Vol. XII.2] (St. Petersburg, 1914).

LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism:* P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X[e] siècle* (Paris, 1971); transl. H. LINDSAY and A. MOFFAT, *Byzantine Humanism, The First Phase* (Canberra, 1986).

LILIE, *Die Patriarchen:* R.-J. LILIE (ed.), *Die Patriarchen der ikonoklastischen Zeit* [BBS 5] (Frankfurt am Main, P. Lang, 1999).

LINDBERG, "Hermogenes": G. LINDBERG, "Hermogenes of Tarsus", in *ANRW,* Teil II. Principat, 34.3 (Berlin - New York, De Gruyter, 1997), pp. 1978-2063.

LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers": G. LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers in Classical Literature", in ANKARLOO and CLARK, *Witchcraft and Magic,* pp. 91-158.

MACCARONE, *La Chiesa greca:* M. MACCARONE et al. (eds.), *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo.* Atti del Convegno interecclesiale (Bari, 30 apr. – 4 magg. 1969), 3 vols. [Italia Sacra 21-22] (Padova, 1972-1973).

MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence:* H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton NJ, Princeton UP, 1981).

—, *Byzantine Magic:* H. MAGUIRE (ed.), *Byzantine Magic* (Washington DC, 1995).

MANGO, *Byzantium:* C. MANGO, *Byzantium the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980).

—, "Daily Life": C. MANGO, "Daily Life in Byzantium", *JÖB* 31 (1981), pp. 337-353.

—, *The Homilies of Photius:* C. MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* [DOS 3] (Cambridge MA, 1958).

—, "The Palace of Marina": C. MANGO, "The Palace of Marina, The Poet Palladas, and the Bath of Leo VI", in E. KYPRAIOU (ed.), *Euphrosynon: aphieroma ston Manole Chatzedake,* vol. 1 (Athens, 1991), pp. 321-330.

MANGO and SCOTT, *Chronicle:* C. MANGO and R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford, 1997).

MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy:* M. MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce, AD 300-900* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001).

MAGDALINO, "The Road to Baghdad": P. MAGDALINO, "The Road to Baghdad in the Thought-World of Ninth-century Byzantium", in BRUBAKER, *Byzantium in the Ninth Century,* pp. 195-213.

MAGOULIAS, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints": H. J. MAGOULIAS, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D.: Sorcery, Relics and Icons", *Byzantion* 37 (1967), pp. 228-269.

MARASCO, "Stregoneria": G. MARASCO, "Stregoneria ed eresia. Un aspetto della crisi iconoclastica", *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 7 (2003), pp. 69-89.

MARGAROU, *Τίτλοι:* E. A. MARGAROU, *Τίτλοι καί επαγγελματικά ονόματα γυναικών στο Βυζάντιο (Συμβολή στη μελέτη για τη θέση της γυναίκας στη Βυζαντινή κοινωνία)* [Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέται 29] (Thessalonica, 2000).

MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *The Book of Pontiffs:* D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* [Medieval Texts in Translation] (Washington, DC, Catholic UP, 2004).

MPOURDARA, *Τὸ δίκαιον:* K. MPOURDARA, *Τὸ δίκαιον στὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα* (Athens, 1988).

NIMMO SMITH, "Magic at the Crossroads": J. NIMMO SMITH, "Magic at the Crossroads in the Sixth Century", in E. JEFFREYS (ed.), *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization. In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 224-237.

NOBLE, *The Republic of St. Peter:* T. F. X. NOBLE, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State 680-825* (Philadelphia, 1991²).

OIKONOMIDES, *Listes:* N. OIKONOMIDES, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* [Le monde byzantin] (Paris, CNRS, 1972).

PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, "Canon and Calendar": N. PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, "Canon and Calendar: the Role of a Ninth-century Hymnographer in Shaping the Celebration of the Saints", in BRUBAKER, *Byzantium in the Ninth Century,* pp. 101-114.

PAVONE, *Storia di Catania:* V. PAVONE, *Storia di Catania dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIX* (Catania, 1969).

PEERS, *Subtle Bodies:* G. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Los Angeles CA, University of California Press, 2001).

PERTUSI, "Rapporti tra il monachesimo Italo-Greco": A. PERTUSI, "Rapporti tra il monachesimo Italo-Greco ed il monachesimo bizantino nell'alto Medio Evo", in MACCARONE, *La Chiesa Greca*, vol. 2, pp. 473-520.

PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos:* Th. PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos: Griechische Heiligenviten in Mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* [Millennium Studies 6] (Berlin - New York, W. De Gruyter, 2005).

PRICOCO, *Storia della Sicilia:* S. PRICOCO, *Storia della Sicilia e tradizione agiografica nella Tarda Antichità. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Catania, 20-22 maggio 1986* (Soveria Mannelli [CZ], 1988).

RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen:* L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage* [Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 206.4] (Wien - Leipzig, 1927).

RAFFIN, "La vita metrica": D. RAFFIN, "La vita metrica anonima di Leone di Catania", *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferatta* 16 (1962), pp. 37-48.

RHALLES – POTLES, *Σύνταγμα:* G. A. RHALLES and M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1852-1859).

ROSENQVIST, *Λειμών:* J. O. ROSENQVIST (ed.), *Λειμών. Studies presented to Lennart Rydén on his sixty-fifth Birthday* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 6] (Uppsala, 1996).

ŠČEPKINA, *Miniatiury:* M. B. ŠČEPKINA, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi psaltyri: grecheskii illiustrirovannyi kodeks IX veka* (Moscow, 1977).

ŠEVČENKO, "Anti-Iconoclastic Poem": I. ŠEVČENKO, "The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantocrator Psalter", *CahArch* 15 (1965), pp. 39-60.

—, "Hagiography": I. ŠEVČENKO, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period", in BRYER and HERRIN, *Iconoclasm*, pp. 113-131, repr. in I. ŠEVČENKO, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, Variorum Reprints, 1982), V.

SOPHIANOS – BEES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα*, I: D. SOPHIANOS and N. A. BEES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων ἐκδιδόμενος ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων Νίκου Βέη*, vol. I (Athens, 1967).

SPARGO, *Necromancer:* J. W. SPARGO, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge MA, 1934).

SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht:* P. SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht. Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen* [Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 10] (Bonn, 1990).

SUMMERS, *History of Witchcraft:* M. SUMMERS, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New Hyde Park NY, 1956).

TALBOT, *Byzantine defenders:* A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *Byzantine Defenders of Images* [Byzantine Saint's Lives in Translation 2] (Washington DC, 1998).

TCHERNETSKA, "Membra disiecta": N. TCHERNETSKA, "Membra disiecta Cantabrigiensia: Two Tischendorf Fragments Identified", *Scriptorium* 56 (2002), pp. 119-126.

THOMPSON, *Motif Index:* S. THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature, A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval*

Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books and Local Legends (Bloomington IN – London, 1955).

THORNDIKE, *History of Magic:* L. THORNDIKE, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* vol. 1 (New York, 1923).

TOMADAKIS, *Analecta Hymnica:* E. TOMADAKIS, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris Ioseph Schirò consilio et ductu edita,* VI: *Canones Februarii* (Roma, 1974).

—, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος:* E. TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος. Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Athens, 1971).

TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival:* W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842* (Stanford CA, 1988).

TSAMES, *Ἁγιολογία:* D. TSAMES, *Ἁγιολογία τῆς Ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας* (Thessalonike, 2003).

VAKALOUDI, "Religious Syncretism": A. D. VAKALOUDI, "Influences of the Religious Syncretism in the Early Byzantine Society", *JÖB* 53 (2003), pp. 1-21.

WEST, *Textual Criticism:* M. L. WEST, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1973).

WILSON, *Scholars:* N. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium* (Baltimore MD, 1983).

ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition:* J. M. ZIOLKOWSKI and M. C. J. PUTNAM, *The Virgilian Tradition, The First Fifteen Hundred Years* (New Haven – London, Yale University Press, 2008).

PROLEGOMENA

1) THE *DOSSIER HAGIOGRAPHIQUE* OF LEO OF CATANIA

1a) Summary of the *Life* of Leo of Catania (*BHG* 981b)

1) The author feels that a few words on Catania itself could serve as a fitting introduction to his commissioned work on the *Life* of Leo of Catania. Such an introduction might be a welcome way of refreshing the memory of those who already know about Catania and a source of useful knowledge for those who do not.

2) Catania (or Catane) is a city situated in the area of Panormon on the island of Sicily. It was in Catania that Saint Agatha became a martyr. Also, from time to time on the mountain high above Catania, the flames of Aetna pour out of Hephaestus' craters. This lava is a constant threat to the city.

3) The author continues with the legend of Empedocles and his failed attempt to achieve immortality by secretly throwing himself into Mt. Aetna, so that people would think he had been taken up bodily to heaven. Empedocles' deception was revealed because, although he was consumed by flames, the volcano ejected his sandal. Here, too, is an outline of the etiological myth that connects the magma of Mt. Aetna with the groans of a giant who was tossed [by Zeus] into the volcano as a punishment.

4) The author criticizes these myths as fictitious and demonic accounts: they simply reveal the falsehoods of paganism. It is to refute these myths that the virtuous example of the life of Leo, bishop of Catania, is presented as evidence. Leo hailed from Ravenna. He was the noble son of noble parents. Early on, because of his virtues and practical [mind] he was appointed custodian of the property of the Church of Ravenna in Sicily.

5) Later, Leo was elevated through all the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and finally appointed bishop of Catania in a unanimous decision by the people of Catania after the death of their bishop Sabinus.

6) Once he became a bishop, Leo demonstrated all the qualities of a pastor in defending his flock. He refuted Greek and pagan fallacies and

debunked heretical innovations, while at the same time coming to the aid of orphans and widows and all needy people, just as the apostles had.

7) He fought idolatry both in words and deeds. He miraculously demolished, by prayer and tears alone, an idol that had been erected and venerated in the past by the emperor Decius. In its place he erected a shrine to the Forty Martyrs (of Sebasteia). He also built an ornate church in memory of St. Lucia. It is in this church that his myrrh-flowing corpse still performs many miracles of healing.

8) Leo performed many wonderful miracles both during his life and after his death. The author has singled out only one to recount in detail.

9) During Leo's episcopacy, a sorcerer from Sicily, who went by the name of Heliodorus, appeared on the scene. Heliodorus was the son of a noble woman called Barbara who was a Christian, and for that reason people assumed that he was a Christian too. He soon grew arrogant and everybody began to loathe him. Pride and ambition drove Heliodorus to seek the post of city prefect, so that he could easily deal with his enemies.

10) However, his numerous attempts at securing the prefecture failed, so he decided to avenge himself. He befriended a Jew who was famous for his sorcery and asked him how he could accomplish what he wanted. The Jew gave him a letter and advised him to go at midnight to the pagan tombs, stand on top of a pillar, and wave the letter in the air. Heliodorus was also told not to descend from the pillar until he received a promise that his wishes would be granted.

11) Heliodorus did as he was told, and the Devil appeared to him riding a huge stag. The Devil promised to give Heliodorus a demon helper who would fulfill all his desires, on condition that the young man denied Christ.

12) Heliodorus renounced Christ, descended from the pillar and kissed the Devil's hand. In return he received from the Devil a demon helper called Gaspar, who would grant all his wishes. Then the Devil left in the dark. This was a pact through which Heliodorus lost not only his soul to the Devil but also, eventually, his life to the flames, as will be shown later on.

13) The reason for Heliodorus' wicked end was that he began to use his magic arts not only against his fellow citizens, but against all the inhabitants of Sicily, ridiculing, annoying, disturbing, intimidating, and, in general, harming many of them. Eventually, he came to be viewed as a rival of the infamous Simon Magus, who was cast down by the Apostles

Peter and Paul when he tried to fly up to heaven in front of the emperor Nero.

14) Once, when Heliodorus was with his lewd friends, he made a laughing-stock of some decent women: through his sorcery he caused an imaginary river to appear before them, so that they pulled their tunics up to their thighs.

15) Heliodorus also turned his magic against the merchants by transmuting base materials (stones, wood, etc.) into precious ones (gold, silver, gems), which he then used for commercial transactions. Once the sales were completed, the materials returned to their pristine state. This led to enormous losses for the people in the market. As a result, they were all reduced to poverty and stopped buying and selling goods. He also stirred up great lust in the daughters of the nobility, and young girls abandoned their parents' homes [through a window] to meet any man they had taken a fancy to or who desired them.

16) Eventually the people of Catania could not bear these trials and asked the prefect Lucius to intervene. The prefect sent his officers to arrest Heliodorus, but they could not find him; his house was empty and clean. Lucius, who had reached an impasse, was advised by the people to write a letter to the Emperors Constantine and Justinian II (or Leo and Constantine).

17) The letter was a detailed account of Heliodorus' misdeeds – inciting lust in the daughters of the nobles, interfering with financial transactions, etc. – and concluded with Heliodorus' threat that he would cause the lava of Mt. Aetna to flow towards Catania and burn the city.

18) When the emperors learned all this and, especially, that Heliodorus had also renounced the Church, they immediately sent off a messenger called Heraclides to Sicily with orders to bring him back within sixty days.

19) Heraclides set sail and reached Sicily after thirty days. As soon as they [Heraclides and his crew] had landed, Heliodorus presented himself and told them that he was the one they were looking for and that he would be happy to follow them to Constantinople.

20) Heraclides, convinced that this was the man they were after, granted him safe passage. Heliodorus also persuaded Heraclides to spend the rest of his time in Catania in pleasurable pursuits, and promised that all the officers would be transported back to Constantinople in one day.

21) Heraclides agreed to Heliodorus' proposal. On the last day, he approached Heliodorus, demanding that he carry out his promise and

threatening to drown him if he failed to comply. Heliodorus took Heraclides and his retinue to the bathhouse and immersed their heads in the pool for a short time. When they emerged from the water, they all realized that they were in the great baths of Constantinople and that their clothes lay unguarded outside the room.

22) Heraclides and the other officials took Heliodorus to the emperors and told them how they had traveled from Catania to Constantinople. In the light of this testimony, the emperors looked upon Heliodorus as a great sorcerer and condemned him to death without any further questioning. [As a last wish] Heliodorus asked for a bottle of water. When given one, he began to drink insatiably until he vanished into the bottle saying that he was going back to Catania.

23) The emperors were astonished, but then, recalling Heliodorus' last words, they decided to send Heraclides back to Catania. When Heraclides arrived there for the second time, he received the same promise from Heliodorus--namely, that he and his retinue would be returned to Constantinople in the space of a day.

24) On the last day, Heliodorus led all the officials down to the seashore, boasting about what he was going to do. Unable to tolerate his arrogance, the crowd might well have killed him, if Heraclides had not intervened and rescued Heliodorus, saying that an imperial enquiry into his actions was still pending.

25) With his laurel rod, Heliodorus sketched on the sand (or on a dip in the sea) a boat and in it sketched the crew and their provisions. Then he placed the passengers [Heraclides and his retinue] inside [the drawing] and, by invoking his assistant demon, made the boat materialize and sail swiftly away without any human aid. Traveling fast, they reached the port of Boucoleon in one day. Upon their arrival, the boat disappeared.

26) When the people learned that Heliodorus had arrived in the city, they were distressed because they were afraid of his magic skills, but they went to see him, anyway. At this public gathering, Heraclides' wife, the *stratorissa* Aithalia, spat on Heliodorus' face and hurled insults at him. Outraged, Heliodorus vowed to punish her for humiliating him in public, so he caused all fire to disappear from Constantinople. When the emperors interrogated him, he admitted his guilt. The emperors decreed that Heliodorus should be starved to death, but Heliodorus caused a famine in the entire city.

27) The people reacted to this famine by gathering in crowds to demand that Heliodorus be put to death. At a public enquiry, Heliodorus

admitted to creating the famine in the city and threatened to do even worse if he did not get satisfaction for the offence he had received from Aithalia. He threatened to make fire available only from her private parts. The emperors condemned him to death, but just as he was about to be beheaded, there sprang from his shoulders two spheres which split the palace roof in two and pulled up Heliodorus, who again vanished, saying he was off to Catania.

28) Since for some time afterwards fire was unavailable in Constantinople, it is best to leave unsaid what the crowds did to Aithalia and narrate a few of Heliodorus' demonic deeds in Catania.

29) On a day when horse races were being held at Catania, Heliodorus approached the nephew of Saint Leo, Chryses, who was preparing to take part as a contestant. Heliodorus promised Chryses a great stallion that would help him beat all the opponents in the race. Chryses accepted the offer and Heliodorus instantly presented him with a white horse, which, ridden by Chryses, won the race and vanished.

30) The prefect Lucius demanded that Chryses produce his horse so that it might be sent to the emperors as a gift. Unable to deliver the horse, Chryses was imprisoned. Leo finally rescued him by explaining to Lucius that the horse was a product of Heliodorus' magic. Lucius freed Chryses and ordered that Heliodorus be thrown into prison.

31) On his way to prison, Heliodorus transmuted a stone into gold. Then he offered his guards three pounds of gold in exchange for his freedom. The guards accepted the offer, took the gilded stone and let Heliodorus go. They then returned to the prefect and said that Heliodorus had summoned some demonic enemies, who beat them and escaped. Heliodorus' reputation made this story credible. On the other hand, when the guards tried to share the golden stone they discovered that it had changed back again into an ordinary three-pound rock.

32) Leo continued to implore and advise Heliodorus to abandon his magical pursuits, but all his efforts were in vain. Heliodorus continued his antics, until the day came when he turned against the Church itself.

33) One feast day, Heliodorus entered the church during the liturgy and started behaving like a mule. Some people were amused and laughed but others grew indignant because of Heliodorus' abusive language. Then he boasted that he could make Leo and his priests leap around like mules as well. This was easier said than done.

34) As soon as Saint Leo realized what was happening, he first prayed, and then ran to Heliodorus, who was in the narthex of the church.

He grabbed him by the neck, tied him with his *omophorion* and uttered an exorcism to counter Heliodorus' magic. Then Leo took Heliodorus to a place of execution, called Achillion, where he called on the crowd to light a fire and forced Heliodorus to enter it with him. Heliodorus was burnt to ashes, while Leo, to the amazement of the crowds, escaped unscathed.

35) When Leo's fame had spread far and wide, the emperors invited him to Constantinople and were deeply impressed by his piety and virtue and by the fact that he could hold burning embers in his robe without being burned.

36) The author concludes with the usual praises of a Saint: angels marveled at the splendid life of Saint Leo; demons were afraid of him; and hosts of sick people regained their health, etc. The Holy One performed many miracles both during his lifetime and after his death. The most significant miracle took place the day he died:

37) A woman of senatorial rank, hailing from Syracuse, suffered from an excessive flow of blood. Physicians were unable to heal her. Eventually she decided to go to Catania. She entered Catania while Leo's funeral was being held. She ran to the Saint's corpse, embraced it, pleaded to be healed, and was immediately cured. She left Catania praising God.

38) So the miraculous Saint Leo died on the twentieth of February, and his body was buried in the church of St. Lucia, which he himself had built. From his corpse flows the myrrh-scented oil that is a cure for every disease.

39) The author concludes with the usual invocation to the Saint and the wish that the commissioners of the *Life* be granted peace, prosperity, health, and salvation.

40) For himself, he also asks that his sins be pardoned and that he may avoid evil and be delivered from temptation, since the reason he chose obedience over disobedience was to narrate the wondrous deeds of the Saint.

1b) Versions of the *Life* of Leo of Catania.
État de la recherche.

1b.1) *Greek and Latin Versions of the* Life of Leo of Catania (*LL*)

The *BHG* lists the following versions of *LL:*

1) *BHG* 981, henceforth *VLA*

A short prose version of the text edited with an extensive introduction and commentary by A. Acconcia Longo.[1]

2) *BHG* 981b, henceforth *VLB*

A longer prose text edited with a brief introduction without commentary by V. Latyšev. This is the presently edited and studied version.[2]

3) *BHG* 981c, henceforth *VLM*

A rather late metrical version edited by D. Raffin[3].

4) *BHG* 981d, henceforth *VLL*

A *Laudatio* preserved by codex *Lesb. S. Joannis* 7 (13th cent.), published recently by F. Ferlauto[4] and republished here with a translation in Appendix.

5) *BHG* 981e, henceforth *VLW*

An abbreviated Menologium entry that is based on *BHG* 981b, edited also by Latyšev from codex *Mosqu. Synod. Gr.* 183/CLXXXIV (Vladimir 376).[5]

---

[1] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", and pp. 80-98 (Greek text). A Latin translation of this version is found in the *AASS*, Febr. t. III (1658), pp. 222-226. The same Latin version is also published by CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum*, vol. II, pp. 6-9. Around the twelfth century, this version was also part of the liturgical readings for the commemoration day of Saint Leo in Southern Italy, see M. ARRANZ, *Le typicon du Saint-Sauveur à Messine* [OCA 185] (Rome, 1969), pp. 122-123, and p. XI for the approximate date of the *typikon* that prescribed this particular reading. For a French summary see DA COSTA-LOUILLET, "Saints de Sicile", pp. 91-95. Finally, see ACCONCIA LONGO, "Note", pp. 7-9.

[2] LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, pp. VIII-XIX (introduction,), pp. 12-28 (text). Variants from the ms. *Paris. Coislin.* 307 are listed *ibid.*, pp. 150-151. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "Note", pp. 10-14.

[3] RAFFIN, "La vita metrica". The manuscript that preserves this version dates back to the year 1307 and the metrical version itself cannot be earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century (*ibid.*, p. 34). Latin translation in CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum*, vol. II, pp. 22-26. A new edition is currently being prepared by Prof. A. Acconcia Longo.

[4] FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito", pp. 97-121. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "Note", pp. 15-18.

[5] V. LATYŠEV, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini saec. X quae supersunt*, vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 111-118. Latyšev (p. III) dates this manuscript (now kept in the Historical Museum of Moscow) to the eleventh century; for recent bibliography, see Fr. D'AIUTO, "Note ai manoscritti del Menologio Imperiale, I: Un monogramma nel Menologio di Mosca", *RSBN*

Apart from these versions, there are at least three Synaxarion entries,[6] based on *VLB*, and Ferlauto in his edition of *BHG* 981d[7] brought to the attention of the public the existence of another manuscript containing a narrative entitled:

> Μία διήγησις ἐκ τῶν θαυμά<των> τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος Κατάνης πῶς ἔκαυσε Ἰλιόδωρον τὸν μάγον.
>
> A narrative taken from the miracles of our father Saint Leo of Catania: how he burned Iliodoros the magician.

The manuscript in question is the seventeenth-century *Athos, Μονῆς Καρακάλλου* 107 (Lambros 1620),[8] which in fols. 55v-74v contains a free adaptation of Chapters **9-34** of *VLB* in the language of the era.[9] If nothing else, this adaptation is a testimony to the popularity of the legends of Heliodorus among the Athonite monks of the post-Byzantine era.

N. S. 39 (2002), p. 189-228. For the dating of this Menologium to the eleventh century (to be prefered to the tenth century) and more recent bibliography, see Fr. D'AIUTO, *Un ramo italo-greco nella tradizione manoscritta del "Menologio Imperiale"? Riflessioni in margine a testimoni ambrosiani,* in C. M. MAZZUCCHI and C. PASINI, *Nuove ricerche sui manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana.* Atti del Convegno, Milano, 5-6 giugno 2003 [Bibliotheca erudita 24] (Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004), p. 145-178, part. p. 145-147.

[6] *Synax. CP*, cols. 479.22-480.12; Latin transl. also in *AASS*, Febr. t. III, p. 226ABD. For the relationship of this notice to *VLB* see LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. XVIII. The second entry is included in the Imperial Menologion composed for Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034-1041 AD) and, according to Acconcia Longo ("La Vita", p. 65), is "un altra rielaborazione, molto abbreviata, di un testo simile alla *Vita BHG* 981b", and also F. HALKIN, "Le mois de janvier du 'ménologe impérial' byzantin", *AB* 57 (1939), pp. 225-236. A third entry preserved in codex *Parisinus Gr.* 50 has been indicated by F. Halkin ("Un synaxaire", pp. 26-28). Finally, another entry is also included in K. Chr. DOUKAKIS, *Ὁ Μέγας Συναξαριστὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1890; repr. by V. MATTHAEOU, Athens, 1964), pp. 446-452. This is an abbreviated version of the longer entries that had been included in the pre-1890 editions of the *Συναξαριστής*, and also of the earlier work of Agapios Landos (*Νέος Παράδεισος* [Venice, 1806), pp. 464-470) (see *ibid.* p. 446, n. 1), - note that in the 1890 edition of Doukakis' *Συναξαριστής* the entry on Leo occupies pp. 330-337. See also the *Συναξαριστής* edited by NIKODEMOS HAGIOREITES, vol. I (Zakynthos, 1868), pp. 468-469. (I wish to thank the Revd. Prof. G. Papademetriou and my former colleague Prof. T. Papademetriou for their help in finding the Matthaeou edition).

[7] FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito", p. 98, n. 1.

[8] LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* I, p. 141.

[9] I transcribe here a few lines of the manuscript for the sake of comparison with the original *VLB*, *Athos, Μονῆς Καρακάλλου* 107, fol. 55v: Εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁποῦ ἀρχιεράτευεν ὁ ἅγιος Λέων ὄντως εἰς τὴν μητρόπολί του ἐγεννήθη ἕνα φάντασμα δαιμονικόν· ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον, δαίμονας δὲ εἰς τὰ ἔργα, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔγινεν ἕνας μάγος δυνατὸς καὶ πονηρὸς τόσον ὅτι καὶ τοὺς παλαιοὺς μάγους τοὺς ἐπέρασεν εἰς τὰς μαγικὰς τέχνας τοῦ διαβόλου· ὀνομάζετον δὲ Ἡλιόδωρος... As is stated in a note at the end, a certain monk Daniel adapted in the vernacular all the original Byzantine texts (Μετεγλωττίσθη ὑπὸ Δανιὴλ ἱερομονάχου. Ἅπαντα ἐν τῇ καθομιλουμένῃ).

In addition to the Latin translations of the various versions published in the *AASS* and by Ottavio Gaetani, mentioned above in nn. 1 and 3, there is one more, which is catalogued as *BHL* 4838. This is a rather puzzling Latin version. As Gaetani notes, the text is a Latin translation of a Greek version of *LL* that is different from the existing ones. The translation probably dates to the time of the Norman occupation of Sicily, that is, during or after the second half of the eleventh century. In terms of style the Latin text is so verbose that it is impossible to make any guess about its Greek original. The information it contains is slightly different from that provided by *VLB* and all the other Greek versions, but at times – and especially in the second half – the narrative comes very close to *VLB*.[10] The storyline provided by *BHL* 4838 is roughly as follows: Leo was born in Ravenna of noble parents and from his early childhood dedicated himself to God and the pursuit of virtue. He left his parents when he was twenty-three and went to Reggio, Calabria, where first he was ordained presbyter and then *archidiaconus* by the bishop of Reggio, Cyril. When Sabinus, bishop of Catania, died, the Catanians ordained Leo, against his will, as their new bishop.[11] The remainder of the narrative more or less follows all the *LL* versions. Heliodorus is designated as *natione Iudeus, Christianus professione, sed moribus Gentilis et vita*[12] and no Byzantine emperor is mentioned in the text. Only the name of an (unknown) "prefect" of Constantinople, Leo, is stated, while Lucius is the name of the "proconsul" of Catania.[13] As for the stories of magic found in every Greek version of *LL*, here they are rearranged to make better sense (depending on the taste of the author or the Latin translator) and there is some coherence in the way one event succeeds the other. In this respect, this part of the narrative reads as easily as any Greek version because the author also offers a number of "rational" explanations or details that supposedly help the audience understand the magic deeds of Heliodorus and the motives behind his actions. Finally, Heliodorus' repertoire of magical tricks is much richer in this version than in any other.

Latin readings of parts of *LL* are also contained in the late *Breviarium Gallicanum*, and seem to represent a version that – although it

---

[10] See CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum*, vol. II, pp. 9-22 for the Latin text and *ibid.*, the *Animadversiones* in the additional pages 9ff. in the end of the volume. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "Note", pp. 22-28.

[11] CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum*, vol. II, pp. 12-14.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

evidently combines information from both *BHG* 981b and *BHL* 4838 – has distorted a considerable amount of information found in the Greek original, (e.g. the magician is called Theodore instead of Heliodorus; he is a Jew [as in *BHL* 4838]; he can transform himself into various animals; and the *protocursor* Heraclides is called Heraclius as he is also in *BHL* 4838).[14] In Europe, later versions of Heliodorus' and Leo's deeds seem to be based on the *BHL* 4838 and the *Breviarium Gallicanum*. In his *De rebus Siculis*[15] the Dominican Thomas Fazelli (1498 - 8 Apr. 1570) relates:

> "... the wonders of a certain Diodorus, commonly known as Liodorus, who was endowed with magic art and flourished at Catania by means of his marvellous skill in illusions. This man, by the force of his incantations appeared to change men into brute beasts, to effect a metamorphosis of nearly all things into new shapes, and instantly to bring to himself objects very far distant from him. Moreover, by slandering and insulting and reviling the people of Catania he bound them with such vain credulity that he incited them to worship him. When he was delivered up to be punished with death, by means of his pre-eminent skill in incantations he had himself carried out of his gaolers' hands through the air from Catania to Byzantium (sic) in a very short space of time. And the people so wondered at this magic that they thought there was some divine power in him, and in sacrilegious error began to worship him. At length, Leo, the Bishop of Catania, received a sudden power from God and in the midst of the city caused him to be cast in the sight of all into a furnace of fire, in which he was burned..."[16]

If we take into account that Heliodorus acquired his magic power after a "pact with the Devil" the distance between Liodorus/Diodorus of Fazelli and the later legend of Faust becomes minimal.

---

[14] *Breviarium secundum usum Gallicanum optime compositum*... (Venice, 1527), fols. 308v-310.

[15] Th. FAZELLI O.P., *De rebus Siculis decades duo* (Palermo, 1558), Decade II. v. 2 (also Dec. I. iii. 1).

[16] This is a summary of Fazelli's narrative found in GUAZZO, *Compendium maleficarum*, p. 6.

1b.2) *État de la recherche*

The stories about Heliodorus in *LL* have attracted the attention of scholars since the nineteenth century, if not earlier, but the references to any version of *LL* (which, in fact, are mostly to the Latin translation of *VLA* found in the *AASS* and, secondly, to the Latyšev edition) are incidental.[17] In this part I summarize the salient points of the most significant research related to any version of *LL*.

1b.2a) Latyšev's Edition of *VLB*

The first to give *VLB* careful consideration was Latyšev in the short introduction to his *editio princeps*.[18] Latyšev's edition was based on only one manuscript, *Mosqu. Synod. Gr.* 161, with variant readings from *Paris. Coisl.* 307. This edition left much to be desired and I have tried to address all its shortcomings in the present one, which is based on nine manuscripts.

The short introduction to that edition was concerned with a number of issues, which will be discussed below. Here I give just a brief outline of its main points. One should always keep in mind that Latyšev's work is subject to the limitations that are the result of using only one manuscript.

---

[17] For a basic bibliography and a brief introduction see also the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database* available through the Internet at www.doaks.org/hagiointro.pdf, p. 62 (accessed 19/9/2005). See also the exhaustive listing in *PmbZ*, no. 4277. I reproduce here part of these bibliographies: A. AMORE, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 7 (1966), cols. 1223-1226; E. FOLLIERI, "I Santi dell'Italia Greca", *RSBN* 34 (1997), pp. 5-6; *ODB*, p. 1214; *LCI* 7 (1994), pp. 390ff.; S. COSENTINO, *Prosopografia dell'Italia Byzantina*, vol. 2 [Collana Medievistica 9] (Bologna, Lo Scarabeo, 2000), p. 276 (Leo[41]); G. D. LANCIA DI BROLO, *Storia della Chiesa di Sicilia* 2 (Palermo, 1884), pp. 128-135; BECK *KthL*, p. 799; J. KARAYANNOPULOS – G. WEISS, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324-1453)*, Part II [Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 14] (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1982), p. 325, no. 178; A. KAZHDAN, "Note 19", *Erytheia* 9.2 (1988), pp. 205-208; A. LUZZI, *Studi sul sinassario di Costantinopoli* [Testi e Studi bizantino-neoellenici 8] (Rome, Università La Sapienza,1995), pp. 120ff. See also BERGER, *Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini*, pp. 44, 47, 56, 64, and *passim*. See also the entry "Leo von Katania" by E. SAUSER in the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. XVIII (2001) cols. 834-835 available at the www address

http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/l/leo_v_c.shtml (accessed 7/7/2008)

for another brief biography and bibliography. Finally, see also an overview of the previous bibliography in L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680-850): The Sources (An Annotated Survey)* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001), pp. 217, 225.

[18] See above n. 2.

In brief, Latyšev considers the *VLB* an *Encomion* rather than a *Vita* proper.[19] He also believes that the author was someone who had a good knowledge of Catania, probably a Sicilian, although he eventually concedes that the author may have intentionally kept his identity unclear and the place of composition of *VLB*.[20] Most of his introduction to the *VLB* is devoted to a historical analysis of the date that Leo might have occupied the throne of Catania. Latyšev's conclusion is that the bishop must have lived during the reign of the Emperors Constantine IV and Justinian II and died before 680.[21] Latyšev places the composition of *VLB* within the period spanning the last years of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth. Finally, in his view, *VLA* was a later reworking, done before 787, of *VLB*.[22]

1b.2b) Acconcia Longo's Edition of *VLA*

A. Acconcia Longo edited the *BHG* 981 version of *LL* (*VLA*) and added an impressive introduction, in which she covered a variety of topics. In most cases, I agree with her interpretation of a number of specific issues, but, as will become evident later on, I hold different views on other major issues, especially those that concern the identity of Heliodorus the magician and the ideology of some versions of *LL*.

Acconcia Longo believes that Leo is a fictional creation of the eighth to ninth century, the period during which *VLA* was composed. Still, this Leo may have been loosely based on a historical person, also called Leo, who occupied the throne of Catania sometime between 591 and 604 AD.[23]

A considerable part of the introduction is devoted to the magician Heliodorus, whom Acconcia Longo identifies as another literary reincarnation of the legendary author of the *Ethiopica* Heliodorus of Emesa.[24]

---

[19] LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. X.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. XI.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. XI-XV, conclusion p. XVI. Concerning the dates of Leo see below 3, pp. 79-85 and the comments to Chap. **4**, **16** and **17**.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. XIX.

[23] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 12-13. Concerning the legendary character of *LL* Acconcia Longo stresses that: "...Sono testi, queste *Vite* leggendarie anteriori al X secolo, che non vanno accolti in senso letterale, né totalmente respinti come fonte storica, ma interpretati come specchio delle aspirazioni, della mentalità e della situazione politico-ecclesiastica dell' epoca in cui sono stati composti".

[24] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 13-29. For criticism of this conclusion, see the presentation of Kazhdan's points below in 1b.2d. For a response by Acconcia Longo, see EAD., "Note", pp. 30-38.

Extensive treatment is also given to the relationship between a number of stories about Heliodorus and medieval narratives about Virgil.[25] Acconcia Longo considers *VLA* a work of Catanian "ambientazione". Her argumentation on this issue further expands and elaborates on the suggestion of Latyšev that *VLB* was also written in Sicily.[26]

Acconcia Longo's treatment of the ideology of *VLA* has already caused controversy. She comes to the conclusion that an author sympathetic to the concerns of Iconoclasm composed this version of *LL*.[27] Among numerous and detailed arguments, she adduces two pieces of textual evidence to support her claim: she argues (1) that the word "ξόανον / *xoanon*" is a cryptic reference to the Iconophile veneration equated in *VLA* to idol-worship[28] and (2) that the *VLA* presents a so-called "truncated" Iconoclast introduction, based on the *Horos* of Hieria.[29] Acconcia Longo's suggestion remains problematic, for the *Horos* of Hieria survives only in the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and was taken to Rome and translated into Latin in 788; apparently only one or two copies of the text were kept in the papal archives.[30] Additional copies of this heretical document were probably unavailable since canon IX of the Seventh Ecumenical Council decreed that only one copy of any heretical document could be preserved in the Patriarchal Library at Constantinople and that all other copies must be destroyed.[31] Before accepting Acconcia Longo's proposal, we need to consider whether the anonymous author of *VLA* had access to such a work. Certainly, the fact that the *Horos* of

---

[25] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 29-36.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-43.

[27] See ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 44-55. Auzépy ("L'analyse littéraire", pp. 62-67) expanded on this idea, only to meet the criticism of Acconcia Longo ("A proposito di un articolo", pp. 3-17). The final response of Auzépy is found in the *RSBN* 30 (1993), pp. 3-5. Moreover, in a later article, a passing reference to *LL* describes the whole Leo of Catania narrative as a possible example of the policy of Constantine V to ridicule miracles, monks and Saints, see M.-F. AUZÉPY "Les enjeux de l'Iconoclasme", in *Christianità d'Occidente e Christianità d'Oriente (secoli VI-XI)*, vol. I [Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo LI] (Spoleto, 2004), p. 163; repr. EAD., *L'histoire des iconoclastes*, pp. 282-283.

[28] *VLA*, Chap. 8: "The present idol represents a demon of the air and it has been set up in the event that fire from Aetna descends and burns us up, because Aetna is a fiery mountain and the house of Hephaestus". For this, however, see my detailed discussion in the Commentary, 17.22-27.

[29] See ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 46ff. and esp. p. 50.

[30] See L. WALLACH, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age* (Ithaca - London, Cornell UP, 1970), pp. 10-20.

[31] See MANSI XIII, col. 430.

Hieria was part of the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council suggests it was more accessible than is assumed here. Even so, the author of *VLA* does not give the impression of having sufficient education to base his introduction on the rather complicated arguments of the *Horos*. Besides, Acconcia Longo's claim rests on interpretation of the sources, not on establishing close textual parallels between *VLA* and the *Horos* of Hieria.[32]

The Iconoclasm that Acconcia Longo sees as the underlying ideology leads her to further theorize on the existence of an openly Iconoclastic and complete first *Vita*. The Iconophiles censored this *Vita* before 886 and created a text that Acconcia Longo calls a "vita censurata". Consequently, this text was further abridged and its parts rearranged creating thus the *BHG* 981 (*VLA*), while the *BHG* 981b (*VLB*) version is a "learned rewriting" of an exemplar of the same "vita censurata" that differed from *VLA*'s exemplar in the order of the episodes and in the presentation of particular details.[33]

As for the possible date of composition of *VLA*, Acconcia Longo offers two suggestions, based on a reference in the text to the emperors Leo and Constantine. She identifies them as either (1) Leo V, the Armenian (813-820) and his son Symbatius, who eventually changed his name to Constantine, or as (2) Leo III and Constantine V, who legislated against magic and heresy.[34] The prologue to the *VLA* version — unlike that of *VLB* — suggests a possible terminus ante quem as well: since it names only six ecumenical councils[35] *VLA* was perhaps composed some time before the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II, 787 AD).[36] However, even this absence of any reference to the Seventh Ecumenical Council in *VLA* cannot be used as an *argumentum ex silentio* because, as Acconcia Longo also points out,[37] the text is disturbed in this part.[38] In addition, the author of *VLA* does not appear to know the identities of the heretics condemned by the first six Ecumenical Councils, since he mentions only

---

[32] Acconcia Longo, "La Vita", pp. 45-53.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 61-65 and esp. 64.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

[35] *VLA* p. 81 (our translation): "... along with these were Theodosius the Lesser, Marcianus, Leo, and Constantine, who sat together at Council with orthodox fathers for purposes of the final ratification and confirmation of the six holy and ecumenical councils...".

[36] One can even claim that the *terminus ante quem* is the Synod of Hieria (AD 754), which was considered the seventh Ecumenical by the Iconoclasts, if an Iconoclastic tenor of *VLA* is accepted.

[37] Acconcia Longo, "La Vita", pp. 49-50.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 81.39ff.

Arius and Nestorius and no other heretic later than Nestorius.[39] Therefore, any claim that this part of the *VLA* Introduction may contain some historical point of reference is rather weak. In conclusion, basing her argument on the purported Iconoclastic ideology of *VLA,* Acconcia Longo proposes the second Iconoclasm as the most likely period for its composition.[40]

Quite recently Acconcia Longo revisited *VLA*, and examined it along with the *Life of Pancratius of Taormina* (*BHG* 1410) and the *Life and Miracles of St. Phantinus* (*BHG* 1508-1509), in the hopes of detecting the relationship between Byzantium and the ancient world as it appears through these three texts.[41] After summarizing most of the points stated above, she examines the anti-pagan overtones embodied in the treatment of Heliodorus as a representative of the "sopravivenza della cultura pagana nel suo complesso, cioè non solo la cultura letteraria e il sapere scientifico del mondo antico, ma anche un tipo di religiosità fatta di 'idolatria'...".[42] Her conclusion is that, despite the condemnation of pagan culture in *VLA*, of the authors of the three *Vitae*, the author of this text seems to be the most "learned" in a humanistic sense.[43] If this is true of *VLA*, then, as we shall see later on, *VLB* is more thoroughly couched in humanistic learning.

In conclusion, looking at Acconcia Longo's postulate of Iconoclastic sympathies as expressed in *VLA,* we may give it some consideration, but an examination of the position of *VLA* in the corpus of the *Lives of Leo* precludes any such association. For this see below in 2e.

[39] See also, *ibid.*, p. 49. The names of the heretics are Arius, Marcellus of Antioch, Nestorius and then three heretics "esclusi dall' ortodossia prima del Concilio di Nicea, come Manes... Sabellio... e Basilide...". Acconcia Longo does also recognize the fact that there is no reference to the Fifth or the Sixth Ecumenical Council, (*ibid.*, same page).

[40] Acconcia Longo, "La vita", p. 54 and n. 68.

[41] A. Acconcia Longo, "L'Antichità pagana nell'agiografia italogreca di età iconoclasta", in *L'Ellenismo italiota dal VII al XII secolo. Alla memoria di N. Panagiotakis* [Fondazione Nationale Ellenica delle Ricerche, Istituto di Ricerche Bizantine, Convegno Internazionale 8] (Athens, NHRF, 2001), pp. 1-17.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-7, and esp. 6.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 17: "l'autore della Vita di Leone, che pure condanna la cultura pagana come ispiratrice di idolatria, sembra il più consapevole, attento, smaliziato, in definitva il più "istruito" in senso umanistico, tra i tre".

1b.2c) A Historical Evaluation of *VLB* by V. Turner

David Turner — in an article of his that appeared at a time when he was in no position to know Acconcia Longo's conclusions[44] — evaluates *VLB* as "a possible, and rare, example of a hagiographical work reflecting official Iconoclast thinking during the controversy".[45] He also places its composition in the later eighth century and points out that "Leo's greatest virtue according to his biographer was his virulent opposition to idolatry", an idolatry that was a pejorative name for icon veneration.[46] Moreover, by drawing a number of negative parallels between Heliodorus and St. Stephen the Younger, Turner argues that the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* (*BHG* 1666) is an Iconophile "mirror image" of the Iconoclast *VLB*.[47] Finally, the article concludes with the idea that *VLB* constitutes an expression of heightened hostility against icon veneration, which developed during the last years of the reign of Constantine V (750-775) and which "was not exclusively the product of the disruptive seventh century or of a dispute over religious images but should also be comprehended in the context of the plague of 746-7, which affected social and religious life in the empire to an extent not fully recognized as yet".[48]

As we will see below in Section 2f, the later dating proposed for *VLB* (838-842) invalidates the basis of most of the arguments summarized above, since, at least the impact of the 746-747 plague had certainly waned off almost one hundred years later.

1b.2d) Kazhdan's Discussion of *VLB*

In the posthumously published first volume of *A History of the Byzantine Literature* A. Kazhdan has devoted part of Chapter Seven to a literary analysis of *VLB*. Our text is examined alongside the *Life of Pancratius of Taormina* (*BHG* 1410-12) and the *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαὶ* as an exponent of comic discourse. Kazhdan found in these three texts a "fine balance between the serious and comic, between piety and parody, reminding one to some extent of goliardic poetry with its combin-

[44] D. TURNER, "The Politics of Despair: The Plague of 746-747 and Iconoclasm in the Byzantine Empire", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 85 (1990), pp. 419-434.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 431-432.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 433.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 433-434.

ation of coarse jest and sincere religious devotion".[49] In examining *LL*, Kazhdan defines "comic" as "an impropriety of situation" and a "mechanism" that constitutes "a break in logic, setting up the unreasonable and outlandish as a reality side by side with the "facts" accepted by a normal reader as real".[50]

Kazhdan reviews the existing literature on *LL* and — realistically enough — ends with no definite conclusion as to the date, the place of origin, or authorship of any of the *LL* versions. With regard to the dating, he does not rule out the second half of the ninth century.[51]

Kazhdan criticizes Acconcia Longo's identification of Heliodorus with Heliodorus of Emesa, the author of *Ethiopica*, and links the literary antecedents of the magician to the "pact-with-the-Devil stories" collected by Radermacher.[52] One of the pre-Faustian heroes especially akin to Heliodorus seems to be Theophilus the *oikonomos* of the Church of Adana in Asia Minor, whose *Life* and our text abound in similarities.[53]

Kazhdan pays particular attention to the literary merits of *VLB* and the rather carefully planned structure of the narrative that focuses on the hero's opposite, i.e. Leo and the anti-hero Heliodorus.[54] He also investigates the motifs of fire, subversion, miracles and sorcery, and explains a number of Heliodorus' antics as acts of parody and perversion or subversion of hagiographical *topoi*.[55]

---

[49] KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Literature*, p. 295. Note also that Kazhdan expands here on ideas originally expressed in his "Note 19".

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

[52] RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*.

[53] KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Literature*, pp. 297-298, for the similarities between the Radermacher stories and *VLB* see the Commentary at the end, and also Kazhdan, "Note 19", p. 207.

[54] For this "opposite" see now the relevant Chapter (9) in PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 171-175: Gegenspieler (echthros-adversarius), and esp. p. 172 for Heliodorus.

[55] E.g., the arrival of Heliodorus in Constantinople (above Summary Chap. **26**) is a subversion of the usual hagiographical scene describing the arrival of a saint in a town or a city (*adventus*). KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Literature*, pp. 299-300, esp. p. 300 for more examples of this nature.

1b.2e) Ferlauto's Edition of *VLL*

The very recently published text comes with a brief introduction by the Italian scholar. Ferlauto has based his work on Acconcia Longo's conclusions. He accepts the identification of the magician with Heliodorus of Emesa.[56] He finds that the *Encomion* proper also abides by the ideology that permeates the other *LL* versions, i.e. Iconoclasm, combined with the anti-Jewish, anti-pagan, and anti-magic ideology of the Isaurian dynasty of the eighth century.[57] Concerning the origin and the date of *BHG* 981d, Ferlauto thinks that it comes from outside Sicily, possibly Byzantium[58] and dates it between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, since it is later than any of the *Vitae* of Leo of Catania, which date, according to Ferlauto, back to the tenth to twelfth century.[59]

1b.2f) Leo of Catania in *PmbZ*

Unlike the *PBE*, the German version of the Byzantine Prosopography of the middle period also includes entries of names, the historicity of which stands in the balance. In *PmbZ* the thorough summary of existing literature on Saint Leo is also complemented by the entries on all the fictitious names that are featured in *LL*, with even the demon Gaspar deemed worthy of an entry (*PmbZ* no. 1932). The information culled in the P part[60] of this entry has been derived mostly from the works of A. Acconcia Longo, M.-F. Auzépy, A. Kazhdan and A. Berger. Much of this has already been examined in the previous sections, but in the following lines I would like to isolate a few issues in which this review goes beyond the positions of the authors that have been discussed.

The authors of the *PmbZ* entry, who pay particular attention to the diminished role of Leo in all *LL* versions, pinpoint the fictitious character of the narrative and its glaring scarcity of historical information. They focus on the suggestion of Berger (and Acconcia Longo) that the Leo of *LL* may be based on a real-life Leo, bishop of Catania, who under the papacy of Gregory I was a contemporary of bishop Gregory of Agrigento

---

[56] FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito", p. 101.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[58] *Ibid.*, same page.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[60] "Probleme, die sich mit einer Person verbinden", in *PmbZ*, Part I, vol. 3, pp. 3-6.

(*ibid.*, p. 4). It is worth noting that *VLA* seems to show some internal signs indicating that Catania is the most plausible place of its origin, while *VLB* is marked by an obvious ignorance of Sicilian geography. Unfortunately, any discussion of the different names of the emperors (Leo and Constantine) that feature in all versions of *LL* except *VLB* — in which the names of Constantine and Justinian II are also mentioned — is less relevant in the light of the present edition. As we will see, the majority of the *VLB* manuscripts transmit the names of Leo and Constantine as well. Serious consideration is given to the possibility that *VLB* is the source of *VLA* (*ibid.*, p. 5), a possibility rejected by Acconcia Longo, but which is further supported in the present study. The entry concludes with a discussion of the dating of the various *LL* versions and the statement that the "legend of Leo" was known before ca. 850. It is also assumed that Leo and all the people associated with him lived during the first or the second half of the eighth century (see *PmbZ* 6470).

1b.3) Possible *termini ante quem* for *VLB*

It so happens that parts of two ninth-century texts are also found in *VLB*, and, although the first of these texts shows direct word loans from and parallels with *VLB* the second text confirms the circulation of one or perhaps two of the motifs found in *VLB* in Italy as early as the 840s.

1b.3a) The Canon of Joseph the Hymnographer for St. Leo of Catania

At least two canons exist in honor of Saint Leo of Catania: a canon composed by Theophanes and edited by E. Tomadakis[61] and a second one composed by Joseph the Hymnographer (808-878 or 816-886).[62] The

[61] TOMADAKIS, *Analecta Hymnica*, pp. 321-332. The name Theophanes is written in the margin of fol. 104v of codex *Crypt. Δ.α.* XVI. The composer of this canon may be Theophanes of Sicily (Sikeliotes), perhaps the biographer of Joseph the Hymnographer: see BECK, *KthL*, pp. 561 and 602 and also now the subject of the unedited Ph.D. dissertation by A. ZERBOUDAKE, *Θεοφάνης Γραπτός βίος καὶ ἔργο* (Rethymno, University of Crete, 2002), p. 111, — I wish to thank Prof. A. Markopoulos for this reference. Theophanes' identity poses serious problems, see *PmbZ* nos. 3454, 8130 and 8143 and also *PBE*, entry "Theophanes 23".

[62] *PBE* (entry "Ioseph 12") assigns him the dates 808-878 or 816-886 and discusses the various problems associated with his dating. See also *PmbZ* no. 3454.

second is included in various editions of the *Menaia*.[63] Both are of major interest for the present study because, as will be shown, they are related to *VLB*. But the first issue that has to be resolved is the origin of Joseph's Canon.

The Canon consists of eight odes, the acrostic of which forms the verse in iambic trimeter Λέοντα πηγὴν ὄντα θαυμάτων σέβω [ὁ Ἰωσήφ].[64] Its second ode is missing (this is the reason why, in fact, it contains eight odes and not the customary nine, as many earlier canons do). The ninth ode of the Canon concludes with a "Theotokion", the initial letter of which (phi) is the last letter of the name of the composer Joseph. All these characteristics are common features of most of the canons by Joseph and the last one occurs exclusively in his canons.[65] Therefore, this Canon is a creation of Joseph the Hymnographer, which means that it must be dated to the period from c. 851 to 878/886.[66] According to recent scholarship, Joseph's adventures and misfortunes allowed him only two periods during which he was able to concentrate on his hymnographic work: 850/1-858 and 867-878 or 886.[67]

A. Phytrakes argues that Joseph composed most of his canons based on information provided by Synaxarion entries, some of which differ from those now preserved in the *Synax. CP* or the Menologion of Basil.[68] On the other hand, E. Follieri asserts quite the opposite, namely that Joseph often drew the content of his hymns from original *Vitae* of Saints.[69] It seems that Follieri is right since Joseph, in the case of his Canon to Leo of Catania, used a more extensive source than a simple Synaxarion entry. Compare the following lines:

---

[63] I used a copy of the text from the *Μηναῖον τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου* of the editions PHOS (Athens, no publication date), pp. 171-176. The canon has also been published in the *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1888-1901), pp. 623-628.

[64] That is twelve syllables with the exclusion of his name ὁ Ἰωσήφ. For the Byzantine dodecasyllable see P. MAAS, "Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber", *BZ* 12 (1903), pp. 278-323.

[65] See A. PHYTRAKES, "Τὸ ἔργον Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Ὑμνογράφου (κρίσεις καὶ παρατηρήσεις)", in MACCARONE, *La Chiesa greca*, pp. 524-549 and esp. p. 531.

[66] See Beck, *KthL*, p. 601. Concerning the date in which Joseph began composing canons, his *Vita* by Theophanes provides some information that has led Tomadakis to suggest the year 851 as the most likely (*Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος*, pp. 58-59). However, Tomadakis (*ibid.*) hypothesizes that Joseph might have started composing canons a little earlier, around 845.

[67] TOMADAKIS, *Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος*, pp. 59 and 69-70.

[68] PHYTRAKES, *art. cit.*, p. 544.

[69] See E. FOLLIERI, "Il culto dei Santi nell'Italia Greca", in MACCARONE, *La Chiesa greca*, pp. 561-562.

- I -

VLB, Chap. 4: θεοπρόβλητος τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμπτήρ, ὁ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας ἐραστής...

J(oseph's) *C*(anon), Ode 1: Λαμπτῆρά σε θεῖον ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ φαιδρὰ ἐκκλησία κεκτημένη Λέον σοφέ...

- II -

VLB, Chap. 7: ἐνταῦθα τό νῦν κατάκειται τό ... σκήνωμα βρύον ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἀεννάου μυρίπνοον ἔλαιον ... ἰάσεις ... ἀνατέλλων τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως προσπελάζουσιν.

JC, Ode 3: μῦρον εὐῶδες δὲ διηνεκῶς ἀναβλύζων, ἁγιάζεις πίστει σοι τοὺς προσπελάζοντας.

JC, Ode 4: ἡ ἁγία σου, ἅγιε, θήκη ἀενάως ἔλαιον ἅγιον ἀναβλύζει ἁγιάζουσα τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πίστει προστρεχόντων σοι...

JC, Ode 9: σῶμά σου ... νῦν κατάκειται ... θαυμάτων βρύον ἡμῖν ποταμούς

- III -

VLB, Chap. 7: ... ἀλεξιτήριον δὲ παθῶν παντοδαπῶν καὶ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων φυγαδευτήριον...

JC, Ode 4: Νοσημάτων καθάρσιον, πονηρῶν δαιμόνων φυγαδευτήριον, ἱεράρχα, ἐχρημάτισας...

- IV -

VLB, Chap. 35: ... Οὓς ἐπὶ πλέον μᾶλλον κατέπληττεν καὶ ἄλλα μὲν πλεῖστα *κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν* τερατουργῶν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τούτους μειζόνως θαμβεῖσθαι συνεκίνησεν, ὁρῶντας αὐτὸν ἀναφθέντας ἄνθρακας ἀκαταφλέκτως ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ αὐτοῦ περιφέροντα καὶ θυμιῶντα.

JC, Ode 6: Ὑπῆρξας τῷ βασιλεῖ, θαυμάσιε, φοβερώτατος ἡνίκα προβαίνων ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπεφέρου τῷ ἱματίῳ σου ἅπτοντας ἄνθρακας...

JC, Ode 8: ... βασιλεῖ παρέστηκας ἄνθρακας φέρων καὶ τὴν τούτου καταπλήττων ἔννοιαν...

In addition to the above parallels, here a few more loosely corresponding expressions can also be listed for both *VLB* and Joseph's Canon. Compare:

- V -

VLB, Chap. 34: ... εἰσῆλθεν *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀναφθείσης καμίνου*

JC, Ode 5: ... Ἀναφθείσης ἐν μέσῳ, ἔστης ἀκατάφλεκτος πυρᾶς, ἀοίδιμε...

- VI -

VLB, Chap. 36: ... ὦτα κωφεύοντα παραδόξως διηνοίγετο..., πόδες ἀλγοῦντες καὶ σκάζοντες ἐδυναμοῦντο πρὸς εὐδρομίαν καταρτιζόμενοι...

JC, Ode 7: ... Ὦτα κωφεύοντα, παμμάκαρ δι' ἐντεύξεως ἠνέωξάς σου θείας καὶ χωλοῖς προφανῶς παρέχεις εὐδρομίαν...

- VII -

VLB, Chap. **7**: ἔνθα τὰ νῦν κατάκειται ... τὸ ... σκήνωμα
and *VLB*, Chap. **38**: Τὸ δὲ ... σκήνωμα, ... ἐναπετέθη θήκαις ὁσίαις ἐν τῷ ... σηκῷ Λουκίας..., ὅνπερ αὐτὸς οὗτος, ..., εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῆς καὶ δόξαν θεοῦ ἐκ βάθρων φιλοπόνως ἀνῳκοδόμησεν.

JC, Ode 9: Σῶμά σου γέγονε ναός ἁγίου καὶ σεπτοῦ, πάτερ, πνεύματος· καὶ νῦν κατάκειται τοῦ θείου ἔνδον ναοῦ, ὃν ἤγειρας εἰς δόξαν, Λέον, καὶ τιμὴν Λουκίᾳ τῇ μάρτυρι...

The examples of this kind of borrowing leave no doubt that the source of Joseph's inspiration was our text. What is more, they also allow us to speculate on the way Joseph worked as a hymnographer: it is clear that Joseph composed his verses by making the best possible use, given the restrictions imposed by versification, of the key words found in his source (here *VLB*). This is evident especially in the last-mentioned example (VII), in which Joseph bases his verse on the words δόξα and τιμή, but somewhat changes in part the context in which he places them. On the other hand, how Joseph uses his source is also a sign of the high quality of the prose contained in *VLB*. Finally, it should be noted that some of the expressions and words Joseph borrows can also be found in the long Synaxarion entry (*BHG* 981e, *VLW*) but this is simply because, as will be demonstrated in the next section, *VLW* copies *VLB*. The possibility that Joseph made use of *VLW* can also be easily excluded, because *VLW* does not contain many of the expressions listed in the above examples.[70]

The relationship between *VLB* and *JC* becomes clearer if we also contrast with them the relevant parts of the canon to Leo composed by Theophanes; compare for example, item II above to its counterpart in Theophanes' work:

Τάφος / κἂν κατέχῃ τὸ σῶμά σου / οἷάπερ θνητόν, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ διαδείκνυται / ζωοδόρος, βρύων ἀφθόνως ἅπασι / ποταμηδὸν τὸν ἔλαιον, / ἐξ οὗ μεταλειφότες ῥωννύμεθα // ἱερώτατε (ed. TOMADAKIS, *Analecta Hymnica*, p. 322).

The degree of separation between *VLB* and the Canon of Theophanes is evident although this does not preclude *VLB* as a source even for Theophanes: poetic expression can follow in a much looser way its own source of inspiration. However, what the above example illuminates by its con-

[70] At any rate, this does not conflict with my argument because even if *JC* depended on *VLW*, the relationship between *VLB* and *JC* would have to be modified as follows: *VLB*>-*VLW*>*JC*. In this case *VLB* still remains the indirect source of Joseph but the obvious implication is that *both VLB* and *VLW* had been written before *JC* (i.e., before 878/886 or 850/851).

trasting distance is the verbal proximity of *VLB* to the Canon of Joseph the Hymnographer.

It is a fact that Joseph composed canons mostly for well-known and early Saints and martyrs, although, as N. Patterson-Ševčenko postulates, he also helped establish the cult of some Saints.[71] In any case, there are very few eighth or early ninth-century Saints among those eulogized by Joseph,[72] but, unfortunately, I cannot use this as a basis to claim that Leo was a well-established Saint by then, because statistics cannot be verified: we do not know how many canons of Joseph have been lost.[73] All that the Leo canon attests to is the presence of a cult of St. Leo by mid-ninth century and, in view of the content of its last paragraph, that *VLB* was written as a reading for the already established Saint's feast (*panegyris*).[74]

Consequently, the Canon of Joseph indicates that, in all probability, the *VLB* had been written before 851 and that Leo of Catania was the object of a cult before the mid-ninth century. Unfortunately, the identification of the composer of the other canon edited by Tomadakis with Theophanes Graptos (*PmbZ* no. 8093), which could have lent more support to this dating, is erroneous. Despite the suggestion in *PmbZ* no. 4277 (p. 6), that it is the work of Graptos, the Theophanes in question is more likely to be Theophanes of Sicily (Sikeliotes).[75]

---

[71] For more on the possible role of Joseph's canons in the promotion or the establishment of the cults of certain Saints, see PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, "Canon and Calendar", pp. 101-114 and esp. 104-107.

[72] Of the 385 canons of Joseph contained in the *Menaia* and listed by Tomadakis (*Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος*, pp. 107-187), only nine or ten are dedicated to eighth or ninth-century Saints: Andrew in Tribunal, Gregory of Decapolis (the spiritual father of Joseph), Theodora of Thessalonike, Ignatius the Patriarch of CP., Ioannicius, the 42 Martyrs of Amorion, Peter of Athos, Stephen the Younger, and Stephen Sabaites.

[73] See also below, 2g, pp. 75-76.

[74] Cf. also the conclusion of *PmbZ* concerning Leo's "legend" cited above in 1b.2f.

[75] See above n. 61.

1b.3b) The *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, Chapter 131

Both A. Acconcia Longo and G. Fasoli[76] have pointed out the relationship between Chapter **25** of *VLB* (or 12 of *VLA*) — in which Heliodorus sketches a boat on the sand (or the hollow of the sea), enters it along with the Constantinopolitan officials, and then makes it materialize and sail to Constantinople in one day — and Chapter 131 of the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* of Agnellus of Ravenna. Although the stories do not exactly correspond, the basic motif, i.e., that of the transformation of a sketch of a boat into a real boat is also present in the *Liber Pontificalis* together with a few more details found in *LL*. In the *Liber Pontificalis* the relevant passage deals with the magical/miraculous transportation of a certain abbot of the Monastery of Saint John called *ad Titum* from Constantinople to Ravenna in a boat. This event supposedly occurred during the episcopacy of Damian of Ravenna (692-708) and the relevant passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*[77] reads in translation as follows:

> 131. But let us not pass over John, abbot of the monasterium of St. John which is called ad Titum, located across Caesarea in the former city of Classe. There was in the times of this Bishop Damian a priest by the name of John, abbot of the monasterium of St. John which is called ad Titum... Since he had many altercations and legal struggles with various men over the property of his monasterium of blessed John and no end was in sight, but many greatly wanted to unjustly devour the farms of the monasterium, this said priest went to Constantinople, and, waiting there for many days, he did not see the face of the emperor.
>
> [Finally, John managed to get a sealed and dated letter from the emperor, which granted him his wish, but he couldn't find a ship to sail back to Ravenna so...]
>
> He took a path next to the shore of the sea. Night, stretching her black wings over him, seemed unfriendly. Although the shadows displeased him, nevertheless the moon's thin rays seemed a kindness to him; and the higher she raised herself toward the summit, the clearer the earth appeared.
>
> While he walked along the shore and wondered what he should do, before him appeared three men in black clothing, and they said to him, "Why, abbot John, do you walk with disturbed mind on this shore?" He answered saying, "All those that I sought from the emperor I have obtained; but I have lingered much time, there is no ship in which to return to Ravenna, thus I am filled with sadness". The wicked men said to him, "If you do those things which we say to

[76] Acconcia Longo, "La Vita", pp. 24-25 and Fasoli, "Patrimonio della Chiesa", p. 75.

[77] See *Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis,* ed. Holder-Egger, p. 363-365, and ed. Mauskopf Deliyannis, p. 306-309.

you, tomorrow you will be in your house among your servants". So he said to them "I will do what you want".

And they said, "Take this wand in your hand and draw in the sand a ship, then a sail, oars, lifeboats and sailors". He did this, as he had been ordered. Again [they] said to him, "Lie in the hull of the ship, in the bilge-water area next to the keel. You will hear the roaring of the winds, after you have entered the sea, you will hear voices warning of dangers, and you will hear storms and horrors, you will hear sounds of waters pouring in; but nevertheless stop up your mouth, and do not let your hand make even the sign of the cross". He lay on the ground looking out at the sea next to him. Behold everywhere suddenly a sound was made like the breaking of the clouds and like the tempestuous storm; the wind roared, the sea shook its own waves. The oars were broken, the masts were felled, the skiffs were released, the blackest sailors gave most terrified groans, and the abbot so held himself in check that no one could even hear his breathing.

At cock-crow he found himself on the roof of his monasterium; and seeing himself alone, he cried in a great voice to his attendants, to remove him from off the roof. They, thinking him an apparition, did not want to obey the commands of their lord. Then he cried in a great voice, naming each of them, saying, "Take me down, and you will know that it is I. You know that I was in Constantinople for the benefit of the monasterium, and now I am come [back]; do not be afraid, but know that I am cast hither by strong winds". They, having heard these words, swiftly placed ladders, and he descended. He was recognized by them, and having been kissed by them all in order, he ordered them to strike the tablet, saying, "Now it is the hour for matins", and after the divine Office was finished, sleep overtook him.[78]

G. Fasoli was the first to note the correspondence between *LL* (in fact, the Latin version of *VLA*) and the above narrative. For her, this was a story brought to Ravenna from Catania in the frame of cultural and religious contacts that might have been a byproduct of the exchanges between those two cities on account of the *patrimonium* of Ravenna in Catania. The parallels are evident, although *VLB* is not as dramatic as the *Liber Pontificalis*. Interestingly, though, in the *Liber Pontificalis* we see the three wicked men admonishing John not to utter a single word and even avoid making the sign of the cross, which is reminiscent of Heliodorus' admonition to Heraclides and his retinue to avoid invoking the name of Christ in *VLB*, Chap. **21**. What is of major importance for the dating of *VLB* is the fact that according to D. Mauskopf Deliyannis, Chapter 131 of the *Liber Pontificalis* was written in the period 841-842.[79]

---

[78] Translation taken from MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *The Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 253-255. For this narrative see also F. LANZONI, "Ancora sulle legende orientali in Agnello Ravennate", *Felix Ravenna* 18 (1915), pp. 795-797.

[79] See MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *The Book of Pontiffs*, p. 16.

This is an obvious *terminus ante quem* for the existence of at least two motifs found also in *LL*.

1b.4) Relations between *VLB* and Other Greek Recensions of *LL*

In what follows I will try to relate *VLB* to other existing versions of *LL*, and attempt to pinpoint a possible time-frame for its composition.

1b.4a) *VLB* and *VLW*

There is no doubt that the *BHG* 981b is the prototype for the *BHG* 981e. For the relationship of these two versions suffice is to say that Latyšev used the anonymous Menologium text to emend on one occasion the text of his own edition of *VLB*.[80] All that can be said is that *VLW* is a carefully abridged version of *VLB*, which at times preserves much of the original *VLB* text and only occasionally departs from it.[81] Compare for example the passages:

- I -

VLB, Chap. **4**: πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λογάδων ἐκλεγείς, ἄξιος ἐκρίθη τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν φροντίδα καὶ διοίκησιν ἀναδέξασθαι, φημὶ δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν πατρίδα, *πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος* ὡς ἀληθῶς *οἰκονόμος* καὶ ὢν καὶ δεικνύμενος...

VLW, p. 111.21-23: Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ κρίσει τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λογάδων τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν ἐμπιστεύεται, πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰκονόμος καὶ ὢν καὶ δεικνύμενος.

- II -

VLB, Chap. **5**: τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐπεζήτει, ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεμεριμνημένως πάνυ διασκοπούμενον...

VLW, p. 111.30-112.1: τὸν ἄξιον ἐπεζήτουν τῷ θρόνῳ, ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεμεριμνημένως πάνυ περὶ τούτου διασκοπούμενοι...

---

[80] LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. 15, see the *apparatus criticus* for line 11; see also his remarks *ibid.*, p. XVIII and the parallels he gives from both *VLB* and *VLW*. Also the entry of *Synax. CP* (col. 479-480) derives from *VLB* (LATYŠEV, *ibid.*, p. XVII).

[81] For example, *VLW* omits any reference to the ancient Greeks and the episode of Empedocles in Aetna found in Chap. **2** and **3** of *VLB*.

Examples of this kind abound in both *VLB* and *VLW*. What is more, the choice of vocabulary made by the redactor of *VLW* suggests that in all probability he utilized a manuscript of *VLB* that belonged to a particular line of transmission, that is, to the so-called "Meteora family".[82] At times *VLW* even gives us the impression that it is based on a *VLB* manuscript that contained a text better than any text preserved in the nine manuscripts I have used for the present edition.[83]

Still, in a few instances the author of *VLW* has introduced his own personal touch, as is the case in Chapter 14 of *VLW* (corresponding to *VLB*, Chap. **32**), where two proverbs are added to illuminate Heliodorus' disdain for Leo's admonitions.[84] Since *VLW* is included in a tenth to eleventh-century Menologium, its *terminus ante quem* is obviously the same period.

1b.4b) *VLB* and *VLM*

This short *Life* in verse is a later product with a somewhat inferior style. According to the editor, it must have been written after the eleventh or the twelfth century.[85] *VLM* is another abridged narrative of the events recounted in both *VLB* and *VLW*. The order of Heliodorus' magic deeds is almost the same as that found in *VLB*, since only the events of the two magical trips to Constantinople and his escapes are reversed.[86] Other than that, the poet has at times exercised his license by giving detailed accounts

---

[82] See next Chapter, and also the edition. Here I cite only two examples: *VLW* (p. 113.4) and manuscripts V and M provide the reading τέρας τι δαιμόνιον against φάσμα τι δαιμόνιον provided by the remaining four manuscripts I have used (BCXO, see below the edition, Chap. 9). In p. 115.33 *VLW* reads: ἵππον ... λευκόν, εὐθαλῆ καὶ ὡραῖον; all three adjectives are transmitted by V and M, while BCX and O omit εὐθαλής.

[83] For example, *VLB*, Chap. 7: ναὸς ... τοῖς αὐτοῦ φιλοτεχνήμασι καὶ φιλοπονήμασιν εἰς κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος παντοδαπῆς ἐπικοσμήσεως ἐξησκημένος λαμπρότατα

VLW, p. 112.31-32: φιλοτεχνήμασι καὶ φιλοπονήμασιν εἰς κάλλος αὐτὸ καὶ μέγεθος παντοδαπῆς ἐξ ὕλης ἐπικοσμήσας λαμπρότατα.

[84] *VLW*, p. 116.18-19: ... ὁ Αἰθίωψ οὐκ ἐλευκαίνετο καὶ ὁ καρκῖνος ὀρθὰ βαδίζειν οὐκ ᾔδει. Two more proverbs are also found *ibid.*, p. 113.16. Another interesting addition in *VLW* is the enumeration of Catanian wives among women affected by the lust that was induced by Heliodorus (p. 113.37) and an otherwise unattested form of the toponymic Croton/Kotrone: Κῆτρον (p. 115.9).

[85] RAFFIN, "La vita metrica", p. 34. The basic manuscript for this edition (Messina, *Bibl. Universitaria* 30, fols. 232-235) dates to the year 1307. See also M. T. RODRIGUEZ, *Catalogo dei manoscritti datati del fondo del SS. Salvatore* [Sicilia / Biblioteche 50] (Messina, Assessorato dei beni culturali, 1999), pp. 57-62.

[86] RAFFIN, "La vita metrica", pp. 40-43.

of incidents that are simply alluded to in *VLB* (such as supplying Constantinople with fire from the private parts of Aithalia),[87] or by attributing to Heliodorus deeds to which we do not come across in any other version (such as the claim that he made statues walk, or that he was among the recipients of the sexual favors of the women he had incited to lust).[88]

One interesting detail in *VLM* is the name of the assistant demon that was given to Heliodorus by the Devil: the demon is called Gaspar/Γάσπαρ in all other versions.[89] *VLM* records the name Gan/Γὰν (obviously in the accusative case) and it is the *Escorial* y. II. 6 — the only manuscript containing *VLB* that comes from Southern Italy — that has preserved a similar name: Gas/Γάς. It is, therefore, highly possible that *VLM* was based on *VLB* and that the poet used manuscripts that preserved a textual tradition of *VLB* particular to Southern Italy.

1b.4c) *VLB* and *VLL*

Another work connected to *VLB* is the anonymous *Encomion* (*VLL*). It is also a later work, and its *terminus post quem* is the reign of Emperor Leo VI († 912).[90] The text may be even later than that period and F. Ferlauto's suggestion for a post twelfth century dating may be correct. The source Ferlauto suggests for this *Encomion* is either *BHG* 981 (*VLA*) or *BHG* 981b (*VLB*).[91] The *Encomion* dwells very little on the "factual" details but concentrates mostly on the rhetorical praises of Leo and abridges most of the stories found in the other versions. For example, the two trips of Heliodorus to Constantinople are given a passing reference that is no

---

[87] See above, the Summary of *VLB*, Chap. **28** and RAFFIN, "La vita metrica", p. 43.210-220.

[88] *Ibid*, p. 39.79 and p. 38.62 respectively.

[89] For *VLM* see above the Summary of Chap. **12** and the Commentary to the same paragraph at the end.

[90] A detail that seems to have gone unnoticed by Ferlauto. Here I give the relevant passage from the codex *Lesb. S. Joannis* 7, fols. 51^v-52^r: τὰ τούτου τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀναγγέλλουσι. Λέων γάρ, ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσι σοφώτατος τὰ σκῆπτρα τότε τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἐπείχετο, ὁ τῶν θείων τοῦ προφήτου Δανιὴλ ὁράσεων ἄριστος ἐξηγητὴς καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἀκριβέστατος ἐφευρετὴς καὶ παλαιῶν νόμων τε καὶ νέων <δι'> ἀνακαθάρσεων ἐπανορθωτής. The mention of Leo VI may also rest on the author's misunderstanding of the sources of the *Encomion.* It so happens that one of the manuscript families (see below the edition Chap. **16**), gives the names of the Emperors as Leo and Constantine. By a happy historical accident four emperors named Leo had sons called Constantine (Leo III, IV, V and VI). For more see the Appendix, the relevant notes to Chapter **8** (p. 292, nn. 3*-5*).

[91] FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito", p. 104. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "Note", pp. 16-17.

longer than six lines.[92] Despite this, I am rather inclined to assume *VLB* as the original for the simple reason that *VLB* is stylistically much closer to the *Encomion*. It would have taken much effort on the part of any encomiast to put together a text almost as good as *VLB* if his primary material were *VLA*. Compare also the passage chosen randomly below:

VLB, Chap. **33**: Ἐν μιᾷ γοῦν τινι τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἑορτῆς τινος τελουμένης καὶ τοῦ σεβασμίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν ἐπιτελοῦντος συνεισέδραμε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ ἄφρων Ἡλιόδωρος, ὡς δῆθεν χριστιανός, μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων· εἰσελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν θεῖον ναὸν ἤρξατο τὰ τῶν ἡμιόνων μιμεῖσθαι λακτίσματα, σκιρτῶν ἀτάκτως καὶ κατὰ πάντων παικτικῶς ἐφαλλόμενος καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰς γέλωτα κινῶν, ποτὲ δὲ φλυαρίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις αἰσχρῶν ῥημάτων εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐνάγων τοὺς συνεληλυθότας.

VLA, p. 95: Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν, τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελοῦντος τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια ὁ δεινὸς καὶ ἄφρων Ἡλιόδωρος, ὡς χριστιανὸς καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ λαῷ εἰσελθών, ἤρξατο τὰ τῶν ἡμιόνων μιμεῖσθαι λακτίσματα καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἐπεμβαίνειν ποτὲ μὲν εἰς γέλοια, ὅτε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν ἄγων τοὺς ἐληλυθότας.

Encomion, fol. 52[r]: Τί οὖν; Μιᾷ τῶν ἐπισήμων, τοῦ θεοφόρου τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἀπάρξαντος καὶ πλήθους πολλοῦ πρὸς τὸν σεβάσμιον ναὸν ἀθροισθέντος, τότε, ὡς ἔμαθε, πρόσεισι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ὄντως ἀθλιόδωρος δολερῶς καὶ ὑπούλως τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ λαῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀναμίξαι βουλόμενος· εἴσω δὲ τοῦ νάρθηκος ὡς ἐγένετο, τὰ τῶν ἡμιόνων καὶ ἀτάκτων ὑποζυγίων ἐδείκνυεν.

While it is difficult to determine which text the encomiast actually followed, he is more likely to have had *VLB* in front of him than *VLA*. The most significant indication pointing in this direction is that in *VLL* we are told that "myrrh still flows from the tomb of St. Leo in Catania", a piece of information which, though present in *VLB*, is missing from *VLA*.[93] Finally, the proximity to Mt. Athos of the sole manuscript of *VLL* makes again *VLB*, which is preserved in six Athonite manuscripts, the most likely source for *VLL*.

---

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 114. See also my edition in Appendix, Chap. 8.

[93] *VLB*, Chap. **38**.16-17 and *VLL*, Chap. 14. Compare also the relevant sentence in *VLL* to its counterpart in *VLB*:
• *VLL*, Chap. 13: ἀναδίδοται ἔλαιον καὶ τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως τῇ θείᾳ ἐκείνῃ σορῷ προσεγγίζουσι δαψιλὲς τοῖς νοσοῦσι ἴαμα γίνεται,
• *VLB*, Chap. 7.24-26: τὰς πολυειδεῖς ἰάσεις ἐκ τῆς τιμίας σοροῦ δίκην ἡλιοειδῶν ἀκτίνων διηνεκῶς ἀνατέλλων τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως προσπελάζουσιν.

1b.4d) *VLB* and *VLA*

I have already outlined the particular characteristics of *VLA* in the Section 1b.2b. Here I focus on particular textual differences between these two versions.

While both texts contain the same narrative elements for each of the miraculous and magical acts, the similarity ends there. *VLB* is written in an ornate literary style, using rich vocabulary and elaborate syntactical constructions. *VLA,* in contrast, is generally written in poor Greek, is by nature laconic, and offers only a skeletal narrative account. I have cited above (Section 1b.4c) a passage from both *VLB* and *VLA*. Compare also the passages:

VLA, Chap. 6	*VLB*, Chap. **31**
Βαδιῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος καὶ λίθον δραξάμενος, λαθὼν τοὺς ἕλκοντας αὐτὸν στρατιώτας, τοῦτον διὰ μαγείας ἐχρύσωσεν καὶ λέγει τοῖς στρατιώταις· " Ἄφετέ με πορευθῆναι καὶ δίδω ὑμῖν τρεῖς λίτρας χρυσίου".	Πρὸς ἣν ἀπαγόμενος, διαλαθὼν τοὺς ἕλκοντας αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ γῆθεν λίθον ἀνελόμενος, διὰ τῆς συνήθους μαγγανείας τοῦτον ἐχρύσωσεν καί φησι πρὸς αὐτούς· "Ἐὰν ἄνετον ἀφῆτέ με πορευθῆναι, δίδωμι ὑμῖν ποσότητα χρυσίου λιτρῶν τριῶν".
Οἱ δὲ ὑπέρογκον χρυσίου λαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενοι, "Δὸς ἡμῖν καὶ ὕπαγε", φησίν.	Οἱ δὲ τὸ ὑπέρογκον τοῦ χρήματος κερδᾶναι γλιχόμενοι, "Δίδου ἡμῖν", φασί, "τὸ ποσὸν καθάπερ ὑπέσχου καὶ χαίρων, ὅπου βούλει πορεύθητι".
Καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸν λίθον. Καὶ δραμόντες καὶ φθάσαντες, τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἤρξαντο διηγεῖσθαι Λουκίῳ·	Ὁ δὲ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν χρυσοειδῆ λίθον ἐκεῖνον, κἀκεῖνοι περιχαρῶς τοῦτον λαβόντες, τὸν δόντα μὲν Ἡλιόδωρον ἀφιᾶσι πορεύεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπαρχον ἀνθυποστρέψαντες, λόγους οὐκ ἀληθεῖς πλασάμενοι ἔφασαν ὅτι·
"Καὶ ὡς ἔτι περιεπάτει μεθ' ἡμῶν δύναμίν τινα ἤγειρεν καὶ κατεκρήμνισεν".	"Περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν δύναμίν τινα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐναντίαν ἐπήγειρε καὶ καταρράξας ἡμᾶς πρὸς γῆν αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἄφνω πεφηνὼς ᾤχετο".
Καὶ ἤρξαντο ψεύδεσθαι καὶ λέγειν· "Οὐχὶ καὶ διὰ μαγείας ἵππον ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν, ὡς μάγος ὢν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ἔχων", καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καταψευσάμενοι τοῦ ἐπάρχου. Ἐκεῖνος γνοὺς ὅτι μάγος ὑπῆρχεν, ἀναιτίους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν.	Κἀκεῖνος, ὡς εἰκός, τεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, ὧν ἔδρασεν, ἐνδεχόμενον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι μαγικῆς κακουργίας δεινότητι, ἀνευθύνους τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπέφηνεν.

Οἱ δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν λαβόντες, ὕστερον εὗρον λίθον καὶ ζυγοσταθμήσαντες εὗρον αὐτὸν ἔχοντα λίτρας τρεῖς.	Οἱ δὲ τὸν νομιζόμενον χρυσὸν διαμερίζειν βουληθέντες, λίθον εὗρον, μηδαμῶς τῆς οἰκείας μεταβληθέντα ποιότητος· ὃν καὶ ζυγοστατήσαντες εὗρον ὁλκὴν ἔχοντα λιτρῶν τριῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος προείρηκεν.

In the above paragraph both *VLB* and *VLA* recount the same basic tale, that of Heliodorus' crafty escape from his captors. The literary styles could not be more different. For example, *VLA* writes of the eparch Lucius:

Ἐκεῖνος γνοὺς ὅτι μάγος ὑπῆρχεν, ἀναιτίους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν.
Lucius, knowing that [Heliodorus] was a magician, did not blame them.

In contrast to the stark, simple language of *VLA, VLB* expresses the same idea in a much more elevated literary Greek:

Κἀκεῖνος, ὡς εἰκός, τεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, ὧν ἔδρασεν, ἐνδεχόμενον εἶναι καὶ ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι μαγικῆς κακουργίας δεινότητι, ἀνευθύνους τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπέφηνεν.
In the light of Heliodorus' previous actions, the eparch Lucius naturally thought it possible, that he had [escaped] through the wickedness of his sorcerous evildoing. So, Lucius declared the soldiers innocent.

This comparison is only one of numerous similar examples throughout *VLA* and *VLB* that could be cited to illustrate the difference in their literary styles. Besides, some of the most highly stylized literary figures (mostly alliterations and etymological word plays) the author of *VLB* used are found in passages that have no parallel in *VLA.*[94]

Still, the relationship between *VLA* and *VLB* is not so easy to ascertain if we base it on textual and stylistic differences alone. The possibility of their dependence on common source that contained Heliodorus' magical acts and Leo's miracles cannot be excluded.

The answer may be found in a few details: unlike *VLA, VLB* appears to have been commissioned, for the author states both in the beginning and at the end that he was urged (προτρεψάμενος) to write the *Life.*[95] This is a stereotypical statement found in hagiographies that usually are the

---

[94] For examples see below 2c.

[95] See the beginning of Chap. 1 below (Greek text: Τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀξιάγαστον Λέοντα, ... ἀνατάξασθαι τὰ νῦν προτραπείς) and also the end of Chap. 39 (Greek text: δέχοιο τά ... ψελλίσματα ... καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο πίστει πολλῇ προτρεψαμένοις τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτέλειαν χάρισαι εἰρήνην). See also LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. X and the Commentary 1.2. ἀνατάξασθαι τὰ νῦν προτραπείς, for further bibliography.

first and only extant ones for the particular Saint they celebrate.[96] The fact that the author states that the *Life* was commissioned indicates that *VLB* may possibly be the earliest account on St. Leo of Catania, especially in view of the fact that *VLA* lacks any reference to a commissioning authority.

This argument may look weak, but there are two more observations that can be adduced in support of the priority of *VLB*. In the next paragraphs I will compare the structural coherence of *VLB* with the rather loose and sometimes inconsistent arrangement of the material in *VLA*. Here, however, I will submit the absence of two details in *VLA:* first, the story of Empedocles is missing from the *VLA* introduction. This may have been a deliberate omission on the part of the Sicilian redactor of *VLA,* perhaps simply because it would have struck Catanians or Southern Italians in general, as so trivial that the possible substitution of another introduction which enumerated the Ecclesiastical Synods and anathematized heretics was deemed more appropriate. However, in *VLB* the Empedocles story is an integral part of the narrative and sets a precedent of death by fire that prefigures the death of Heliodorus. The economy of the narrative as a whole is affected by the loss of this legend in *VLA*.

On the other hand, the *VLA* introduction — which is also fraught with textual problems[97] — singles out Nestorius and other earlier heretics for special condemnation[98] and praises a number of orthodox emperors. In its final lines, the introduction sets out its own orthodox stance with a final prayer that pledges a vague adherence to Orthodoxy.[99] Thus, the

---

[96] See among many, for example, the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 2 (*BHG* 1666; ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 89); the *Vita Blasii Amoriensis* 26 (*BHG* 278; *AASS*, Nov. t. IV, p. 669); the *Vita Antonii Iun.* 1 (*BHG* 142-143; ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, p. 187); the *Vita Eliae Iun.* 1 (*BHG* 580; ed. G. ROSSI TAIBBI, p. 3), the *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytr.* 1 (*BHG* 495; ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, p. 221), and the *Vita Germani I patr.* 32 (*BHG* 697; ed. L. LAMZA, p. 240). All the above *Lives* employ the words found in *VLB* that indicate commissioning (i.e. προτραπείς, etc.) but there are numerous other *Lives* in which the same idea is expressed in different ways, e.g. the *Vita Theophanis Conf.* 1 (*BHG* 1787z; ed. V. LATYŠEV, p. 1): διαγράψαι πάλαι κελευσθείς...

[97] See above p. 16 and nn. 37-38.

[98] *VLA,* Chap. 1 (ed. ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 81-82): "First Mani, Arius, Nestorius, Sabellius, Marcellus and Basilides; for the teachings of the evil teachers are evil. For these are false believers who do not believe in the holy incarnation and forgiveness of Christ, and who have as an instructor Nestorius, the enemy of the holy Trinity, who denies the immaculate, exceedingly glorious our lady Mary, God-bearer and eternal Virgin".

[99] *VLA,* Chap. 1 (p. 82): "Therefore, let us remain orthodox and within the teaching of the holy prophets and the apostles and the entire God-inspired scripture..."

introduction to *VLA* is a piece of writing somewhat loosely connected to the rest of the narrative if not altogether irrelevant.[100]

The second observation has to do with information preserved only in *VLB*, namely, that myron (myrrh) flows from Leo's tomb. It is possible that the author of *VLA* suppressed this detail perhaps because he knew that such a tomb did not exist in Catania.[101]

Be that as it may, we have already seen that *VLB* is possibly earlier than 851 or 845.[102] Taking this into account, we cannot fail to notice that all five (Italian in origin) manuscripts that transmit *VLA* date from the tenth to the twelfth century.[103] This means that even if we do not have earlier manuscripts for *VLB* (except the late tenth / early eleventh-century St. Petersburg palimpsest)[104] the *terminus ante quem* of *VLA* is the late tenth century.

One other significant difference between *VLA* and *VLB* in the arrangement of material common to both is the doublet about the white stallion that Heliodorus presented to Chryses. In *VLA* it is found in the beginning (Chapters 5-6) together with the stories of how Heliodorus' deeds disrupted the social life of Catania. In *VLB* the author places it at the end, after Heliodorus' second escape from the Imperial court in Constantinople (Chap. **29-31**). However, in the letter the eparch Lucius wrote to the emperors informing them of Heliodorus' magical acts,[105] no incident pertaining to any stallion is reported, presumably because that incident had not yet "occurred". It is clear that *VLB* preserves the original

[100] Note also the phrase that is used for the transition from the introduction to the narrative proper: Τούτων ἐν τούτοις ὄντων εἰς μέσον ἄγω ὁ πενιχρὸς τοῦ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν αὐτεπαίνετον Λέοντα... (ed. ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 82). It is an awkward expression, which would have been more appropriate if what preceded were an exposition of events that was interrupted or concluded in order to introduce Leo.

[101] It is impossible to explain why *VLB* has added this particular characteristic to Leo's posthumous existence. One can possibly claim that since *VLB* was written, (or at least edited) somewhere in the Byzantine mainland or in Constantinople where people did not have the slightest idea of Catanian affairs, the author took some liberties. I would like to thank Dr. Xavier Lequeux for these two observations.

[102] See above Section 1b.3a, p. 22, n. 66 and p. 25. This is also the opinion of Latyšev (*Neizdannye grecheskie*, pp. XVII-XVIII). E. Follieri ("Per l'identificazione del grammatikos Leone Siculo con Leone di Centuripe", *RSBN* 24 [1987], p. 140 and n. 62) maintains that *VLB* is "una rielaborazione retorica, in una lingua elegante e insieme limpida" of *VLA*. Follieri's statement is based on the same evidence that Acconcia Longo accepts, but this does not seem to be the case.

[103] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 76-77.

[104] See below Section 5a.10.

[105] *VLB*, Chap. 17 and *VLA*, Chap. 8 (ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 88-89).

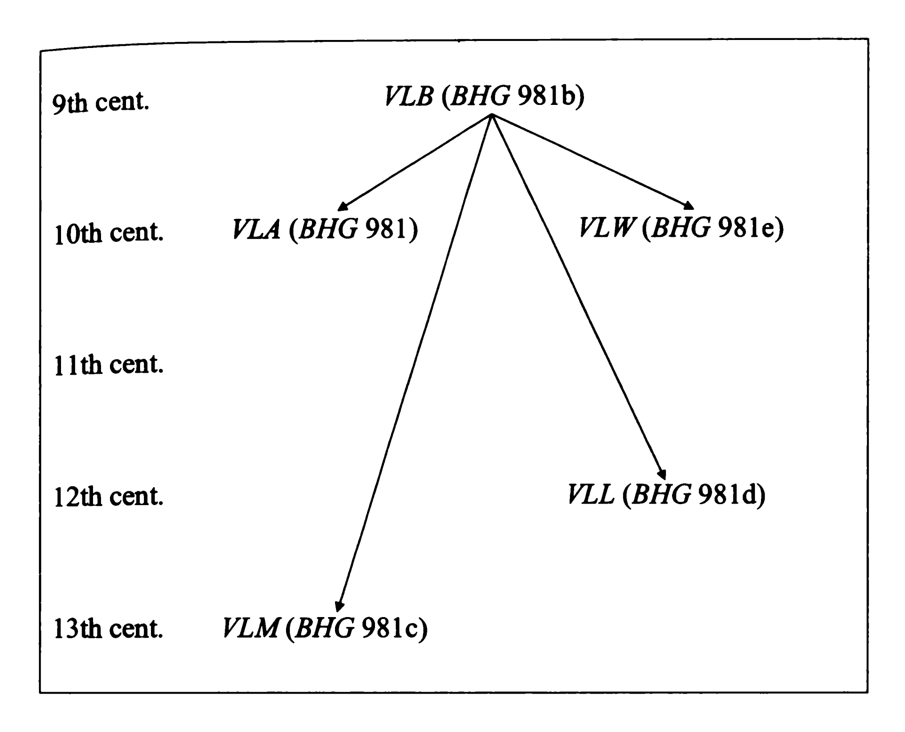
arrangement of the plot as we also saw in the case of the Empedocles and the Leo "myroblytes" stories above.[106] All these examples highlight the superiority of *VLB* over *VLA* in terms of plot arrangement and style. And textual superiority, and, especially, (relative) completeness and coherence[107] are strong indications of the originality of *VLB*.

1b.4e) Conclusion

The detailed comparison of all existing versions of narratives concerning Leo shows that *VLB* (*BHG* 981b) is in all likelihood the source of all the other versions listed in the *BHG*. The dependence of Joseph the Hymnographer on passages from *VLB* for his Canon to Leo of Catania secures *VLB's terminus ante quem* to the year 886 (or 878 or even 850/1). Based on the previous analysis, I would set the relationship of all the *LL* versions in this stemma:

[106] See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 5 and p. 62. Moreover, Kazhdan (*Byzantine Literature*, p. 253) had already observed the consistency and "carefully structured composition" of the entire *VLB*. The *Life* concludes with the burning of Heliodorus (Chap. **34**), but, as Kazhdan notes, "The burning scene is prepared for structurally in the earlier part of Leo's Life. Having completed the episode of Heliodorus' accord with the Devil, the author, in a flash of foresight, predicts the destiny of the anti-hero: Heliodorus, he says, 'in shame and pain lost this life having become fuel for the eternal fire.' He uses the same lexical pattern here [i.e. *VLB*, Chap. **12**] as in the final scene of execution, although in a different sequence". The same phenomenon is also repeated in another instance. The brief characterizations with which Leo is introduced in Chap. **4** are partly repeated but deftly altered in Chap. **39**. Finally, the reference to the fact that Leo was buried in the Church of Saint Lucia, which he himself had built, in Chap. **38** is followed by the incidental remark "as was also said earlier/ καθάπερ καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται", that points back to Chap. 7.

[107] Even in the cases in which *VLB* is textually very close to *VLA* the latter reads as a clumsy abridgement of the former. Apart from the example cited above on p. 32, compare:
• *VLB*, Chap. **11**.1-5: Ὁ δὲ βδελυρὸς Ἡλιόδωρος μετὰ πολλῆς περιχαρείας καὶ σπουδῆς τὸ ἐπίταγμα πληρῶν ἀπέρχεται παραυτίκα πρὸς τῇ στήλῃ καὶ ἵσταται καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον μετὰ χεῖρας ἐπάρας ἀνύψωσε είς τόν ἀέρα. Κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὥραν ὁρᾷ *τὸν τοῦ ἀέρος ἄρχοντα*, τὸν διάβολον λέγω, ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ἐπὶ μέγιστον εἶδος ἐλάφου σοβαρῶς ἐπιβεβηκότα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα...
• *VLA*, Chap. **3**.15-17 (ed. ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. **84**): Ὁ δὲ Ἡλιόδωρος μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς τοῦτο ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀπήει ἐν τῇ στήλῃ· ὡς δὲ τὸν χάρτην είς τὸν ἀέρα ἐξήρπασεν, κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὥραν τὸν διάβολον ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ἐθεάσατο.



Although I shall discuss the provenance of *VLB* in more detail later on, I may note here that *VLB, VLL and VLW* originate beyond any doubt from the Byzantine mainland if not from Constantinople, while *VLA* and *VLM* can be associated with Southern Italy or Sicily.

* * *

2) THE AUTHOR AND THE COMPOSITION OF *VLB*

2a) The Intellectual Background of the Author, Schooling and Literary Foundations

It is impossible to identify the author of *VLB*. Chances are that he was either a monk or a churchman, but this is as far as we can speculate.[1] However, a few things about him and his schooling can be deduced through the literary analysis of his work. Given his excellent command of the Greek language in general and his acquaintance with specific early sources and school manuals, the author must have belonged to a circle of highly educated people who lived in the Byzantine Empire (mostly, but not exclusively, in Constantinople as well as in Sicily and, perhaps, other areas) around the turn of the ninth century and later.[2] We do not know the exact curriculum of the Iconoclast period,[3] during which the author of *VLB* must have grown up, but through his work it is easy to identify a few voices from the period of his schooling.

Modern scholarship has concentrated on questions related to which classical and patristic texts were adopted by the Late Antique and Byzantine schools. The names of Homer (mostly on account of the *Iliad*), Euripides, Menander and Demosthenes rank first according to N. Wilson followed by those of Hesiod, Callimachus, Isocrates, Thucydides and Pindar.[4] Wilson's approach was based on the number of extant manuscripts and papyri. The big picture cannot be different from that proposed by Wilson or, slightly modified, by W. Treadgold,[5] who adds Aristotle, Aelius Aristides, and Gregory of Nazianzus. The inclusion of Late Antique manuals of rhetoric in the curriculum is generally accepted but with

---

[1] See the remarks of LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. X.

[2] For the Byzantine education of the eighth, ninth, and later centuries see primarily LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism*, pp. 111-117; MANGO, *Byzantium*, pp. 136-141; MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence*, pp. 13-21, and now, KALOGERAS, *Byzantine Childhood Education*, pp. 121-169 and esp. 136-141 and 162-164.

[3] For education during the period of the Iconoclasm see A. MOFFAT, "Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries", in BRYER and HERRIN, *Iconoclasm*, pp. 85-92.

[4] WILSON, *Scholars*, pp. 18-20.

[5] TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 53-54.

no further elaboration.[6] At any rate, it is accepted that: "The basis of the formal study of rhetoric in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries was certainly the Aphthonian-Hermogenic corpus with the commentary material thereon composed in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries..."[7]

To start with, as a literary practitioner our author relied on the precepts of the pagan manuals of the Second Sophistic[8] with regard to vocabulary, composition, arrangement of the material, syntax, and figures of speech. Like many other hagiographers the author of *VLB* followed the precepts found in Menander rhetor's *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*, but also Hermogenes' *Περὶ στάσεων*[9] or even on the *Περὶ ὕφους* of Demetrius.[10] A review of the Commentary and index of figures of speech may in the end also reveal that in terms of statistics *VLB* by far exceeds all other contemporary hagiography in the field of "composing and arranging" words. I can only refer the reader to Chapter **12** and the abundance of alliterations (of pi, rho, and sigma) that run almost uninterrupted throughout its entirety. The contemporary hagiography of Ignatius the Deacon, which is considered the highest exponent of literary skill, for example, is a distant second in figures of speech.[11] As a result *VLB* is a text which, especially if read out loud, flows very smoothly with its sense of careful and unforced transition from one word to another, facilitated by numerous figures of speech and a

---

[6] See, however, MANGO, *Byzantium*, pp. 246ff., and MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence*, p. 13, where he states: "... Byzantine schoolmasters employed five textbooks that circulated under the name of Hermogenes, the second century writer".

[7] See G. A. KENNEDY, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton NJ, Princeton UP, 1983), p. 275.

[8] For the significance of the rhetoric in literary creation in general, see now, B. KATSAROS, "Η ρητορική ως "Θεωρία Λογοτεχνίας" των Βυζαντινών", in P. ODORICO and P. AGAPITOS, *Pour une "nouvelle" histoire de la littérature byzantine: problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions.* Actes du colloque international philologique. Nicosie – Chypre, 25-28 mai 2000 [Dossiers byzantins 1] (Paris, EHESS, 2002), pp. 95-104 and esp. 100-103.

[9] See Commentary, **1**.3-4 (περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ... τῷ λόγῳ διαλαβεῖν) and **34**.14-15 (πῶς τε καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ πότε καὶ διὰ τί τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξωμόσατο).

[10] See Commentary, **1**.4-5 (ἄχαρις ἡ διήγησις).

[11] The selective Index of Figures of Speech of the *Vita Tarasii* (p. 270) lists 28 alliterations, the majority of which usually extends over two or three words (ὅσα τοῖς ὠσίν **2**.6, δίκαιον ἀδεκάστως **4**.6-7, etc.). Nothing in this *Life* and in the *Vita Nicephori I* compares, for example, to the τῆς τοῦ παντεπόπτου Θεοῦ περὶ πάντα προνοίας of *VLB* (**12**.15-16). G. Makris in his edition of the *Vita Gregorii Decapolitae* (pp. 46-48) has also given some examples of the stylistic sophistication of Ignatius and one example, at least, compares to the standards of *VLB*'s author: Ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ ἰοβόλοις κέντροις οὐκ ἐπαύοντο βάλλοντες. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ βολὴ καιρίαν πληγὴν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐπενεγκεῖν, βέλος δὲ νηπίων τὰς τούτων βολὰς ἐλογίζετο (*ibid*., p. 48).

periodic structure which consciously avoids long sentences that tax the audience's intellect.[12]

Figures of speech, word choice, and arrangement are issues to which the author pays the closest possible attention. Although it is difficult to claim the particular theoretical source he follows we would not be wrong to assume that the writing of *VLB* was also influenced by treatises such as the *Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,[13] or the spurious *Περὶ εὑρέσεως* of Hermogenes[14] both of which include extensive sections on figures of speech and the choice of word forms. There are also indications that the author knew the later commentators of this particular work and, in fact, his mastery of the alliteration allows for the hypothesis that he might have used as a theoretical manual not the *Περὶ εὑρέσεως* of Hermogenes but some version of the Commentaries to this book.[15]

There are also a few minor applications of the rhetorical precepts in *VLB*,[16] but it seems that the author used other sources as well. Since his margins for variety in terms of plot were not that wide,[17] he worked extensively on the language of the text and on the scrupulous application of the rhetorical rules in his narrative. As a result, we can show that most of the expressions used by the author of *VLB*, rank among the rare ones and can be found either in a few classical authors or in the works of erudite Church Fathers such as Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom. The register of expressions in *VLB* shows extensive, — deliberate or unconscious — borrowings, especially from John Chrysostom and, in second place, from Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. But for

---

[12] I have indicated the alliterations and other figures of speech in entries into the Commentary and in the relevant index at the end. For a more comprehensive list see the relevant index.

[13] See *De compositione verborum* (ed. H. USENER and L. RADERMACHER, pp 3-143). It has to be admitted though that sections of this work that dealt with ancient Greek meter were of no use to *VLB*'s author since much earlier than the ninth century poetry and prose had shifted to the Byzantine system, where long and short vowels did not count any longer, but only the stressed syllables.

[14] See *Περὶ εὑρέσεως* (ed. H. RABE, *Hermogenis opera*, pp. 93-212).

[15] See Commentary, 1.9-10.

[16] See Commentary, 1.5.

[17] For the nature of hagiography as a genre based on and limited by conventions see MANGO, *Byzantium*, pp. 246-252 and esp. pp. 247-248, and also the entry "Hagiographies, Eastern Christian" by A. ALEXAKIS, in W. M. JOHNSTON (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, vol. 1 (Chicago – London, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), pp. 566-569.

this see the next section in which I compare *VLB* to other high-style hagiographies and the notes I have inserted in the Commentary.

One of the school manuals, which the author thoroughly exploited and which may have influenced in many cases his word-choice is the *Onomasticon* (*Ὀνομαστικὸν*) of Julius Pollux.[18] The starting point for unraveling this relationship was the word μεμεριμνημένως, which in the *TLG* appears only once in the *Onomasticon*. There may be less than four incidences in Greek texts of this word[19] and the occurrence in both *VLB* and the *Onomasticon* is not accidental. Of the numerous examples that support this connection I will cite here three more: The first can be found in the *apparatus criticus* to the *VLB* text: I adopted an emendation based on the presence of the suggested word in the *Onomasticon*[20] in a context similar to that in the *VLB*.

The second example is related to a number of terms used in *VLB* and related to the practice and practitioners of magic. There are numerous terms that denote the practice and consequences of sorcery and the practitioners of magic in *VLB*. In the following section from the *Onomasticon* I have underlined the words that occur in *VLB*:

> *Ὀνομαστικόν* 4.47.6-4.51.5: ὅστις δὲ βούλοιτο κακίζειν σοφιστήν, τούτῳ ὑπάρχει λέγειν <u>γόης</u>, <u>ἀπατεών</u>, ἐπίβουλος, ἀπατητικός, ἐξαπατητικός, δολερός, ὕπουλος, ... γοητευτικός, κακοῦργος, πανοῦργος, ψεύστης, ... τὰ δὲ ῥήματα σοφίζεσθαι, γοητεύειν, ἀπατᾶν ἐξαπατᾶν, ... πανουργεῖν, δολοῦν, ... ψεύδεσθαι, ... τὰ δὲ πράγματα <u>γοητεία</u>, <u>ἀπάτη</u>, <u>ἐπιβουλή</u>, ἐπιβουλία, <u>ἐξαπάτη</u>, ... πολυτροπία, κακουργία, ῥᾳδιουργία, πονηρία, πανουργία, ψευδολογία, ... ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνίων οὐκ ἔστιν ὄνομα τοῦ πράγματος, σοφιστεία δὲ βάρβαρον, ... τὰ δ' ἐπιρρήματα γοητευτικῶς, πανούργως, κακούργως, δολερῶς, ἀπατητικῶς, ἐπιβούλως, ... πολυτρόπως (ed. E. BETHE, vol. 1, p. 215).

It is interesting that the author of *VLB* found the terms applied by Pollux to a sophist appropriate for belittling a magician.[21]

---

[18] The *Pollucis Onomasticon* is a neglected lexicon of the second century AD comprising words divided according to semantic domains; for extensive bibliography see A. VENUTI, "La sezione Περὶ Συμποσίου dell'*Onomasticon* di Polluce: un percorso ideologico tra macro e microstruttura", in P. R. COLACE and A. ZUMBO (eds.), *Letteratura scientifica e tecnica Greca e Latina. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi.* Messina 29-31 ottobre 1997 [Collana lessico e cultura 3] (Messina, Edizioni Dr. A. Sfameni, 2000), pp. 209-229 and esp. n. 2 and 3.

[19] See also the Commentary, 5.8-9.

[20] See below the text, Chap. 15.6 ἀ<νω>φελῶν. See also the relevant comments at the end.

[21] I list here the underlined words in *VLB*:
• Magic-sorcery: activity/action/deeds/results: ἀπατᾶν **30**.16, ἀπάτη (φαντασιώδης) **30**.12, γοητεία **10**.3, **12**.5, **13**.9, **17**.9, **23**.1, **27**.16, **34**.14, ἐξαπάτη **32**.4, πονηρία **9**.14 (ἐπιτήδευμα), πο-

The last example is taken from Chapter **25**. *VLB*'s author describes in some detail how Heliodorus with his laurel rod sketched on the sand a boat and how, helped by his assistant demon he made it materialize and sail off. Most of the nautical vocabulary can be found in the *Onomasticon*.[22]

We may, however, object on the grounds that since the *Onomasticon* is almost exhaustive in its inclusion of the terms which belong to certain domains of meaning, those terms will inevitably appear in other written sources. But this argument can also be turned around because, if we assume on the basis of *very rare* but shared words, that the author of *VLB* knew the *Onomasticon*, then the fact that it was constantly used as a source of easy solutions in word choice becomes a rather safe theory.

Last but not least, the influence of the Bible is present in the text, even in less religious moments.[23] A look at the *apparatus biblicus* in the edition or at the Commentary will also show that the Biblical quotations, though not as numerous as we might expect,[24] are well placed and integrated with the text and constitute an integral part of the author's personal voice.

νηρίας **17**.11, κακουργία (τοῦ Σατανᾶ) **9**.5, **16**.13, (μαγική) **31**.14, ῥᾳδιουργία **15**.13, **16**.12; • Magic-sorcery: agent: ἀπατεὼν **30**.15, γόης **17**.8, **26**.22, **27**.2.

[22] Pollux Julius, *Ὀνομαστικόν* 1.82-1.110 (ed. E. BETHE, vol. 1, pp. 26-36). More specifically: *VLB* **25**.3 // *Ὀνομαστικόν* 1.82.1 (πλοιάριον // πλοῖον); **25**.4 // 1.95.1 (ναύτης), **25**.5 // 1.99.4 (ἐμβαλλέσθαι); **25**.9 // 1.103.1 (εἰρεσία); **25**.10 // 1.110.3 (συνελαύνεσθαι // ἐλαύνων, see also Commentary at the end); **25**.17 // 1.95.5 (συμπλωτῆρος // πλωτῆρας).

[23] Take, for example, the employment of the Biblical verse to denote the place on which Heliodorus drew the outline of his magical boat (τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης Ps. 64:8).

[24] I have included in the *apparatus biblicus* 24 direct and indirect quotations from the Old Testament and another 37 from the New Testament. There are a few more indirect, perhaps unconscious, quotations that I have also indicated in the Commentary. Note that these statistics contradict — at least with regard to *VLB* — Auzépy's thesis that "... la prédominance de l'Ancien Testament est un indice de l'éducation iconoclaste de son auteur" (AUZÉPY, "L'analyse littéraire...", p. 59, and the relevant analysis *ibid.*, pp. 58-59).

2b) The Literary Nature of *VLB*

From the early ninth century, if not earlier, hagiography was in the hands of a number of the elite *literati* of Byzantium.[25] Authors such as Ignatius the Deacon, Methodius, and Michael Syncellus, wrote erudite accounts of saintly persons in narratives that are now termed hagiography in high style. As I. Ševčenko put it:

> "... a work in high style is one that uses periodic structure; its vocabulary is recondite, puristic and contains *hapax legomena* made up on a classicistic template; its verbal forms, especially its pluperfects are for the most part Attic; its Scriptural quotations are rare or indirect and its classical ones, plentiful..."[26]

VLB can be termed hagiography in high style because of a number of particular traits that directly and indirectly fulfill Ševčenko's criteria: the author is acquainted with a number of classical authors and stories of the Greek mythological and historical past, starts his narrative with classical Greek traditions about Aetna and recounts the story of Empedocles and his death. Even though this is perhaps a secondhand classical quotation from the works of Gregory of Nazianzus and their Pseudo-Nonnian commentaries, the next allusion to the giants and the etiological myth about the fire of Aetna is proof that our author had absorbed his share of Classical and Hellenistic readings, since this part is a little richer in information than the work of Gregory of Nazianzus and Pseudo-Nonnus.[27]

That our author's attitude is critical towards these stories is apparent from the comments that introduce the *Life of Leo* proper at the beginning of Chapter 4: the author mentions all the pagan stories only to show the falsity of ancient Greek beliefs and philosophy and disprove them as the work of demons and as tales of minds possessed by demons. His aim, as he states, is to present the pious example of Leo a "man renewed in Christ", in contrast to the Greek myths. However, what is important here is the author's more than casual acquaintance with ancient Greek mythological lore. That he cites it in order to refute it is a further indication that he may know much more than what he consciously allows himself to say and explicitly rejects.

---

[25] Very interesting remarks concerning the outline of this intellectual activity in the ninth century can also be found in TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 373-380 and, of course, in LEMERLE's *Byzantine Humanism, passim*.

[26] I. ŠEVČENKO, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose", *JÖB* 31 (1981), p. 291, and p. 301-303 for more on the high-style hagiography.

[27] For a similar usage of Ps.-Nonnus by Ignatius the Deacon see ŠEVČENKO, "Hagiography", p. 124.

In this respect, *VLB*'s author is typically Byzantine in his ambivalence towards Classicism. This ambivalence, which permeates most, if not all of Byzantine intellectual history, was introduced by second-century apologists, and was reinforced by the Cappadocian Fathers, especially Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea,[28] as well as John Chrysostom. As it happens, our author's attitude is no different from that of many "classicizing" authors before and after him. I. Ševčenko has succinctly described the case of such an earlier author who is none other than Gregory of Nazianzus. As the pre-eminent Byzantinist states:

> "In Gregory's homilies, mythology was no longer a working tool, wielded to disparage paganism. By his time, paganism was collapsing by itself. Gregory's mythological passages merely constitute a badge of distinction bearing the same relation to a working tool that the Phi Beta Kappa insignia bears to a key. But the presence might still be there. In Gregory's homily on the Epiphany, for instance, he stated that the Christian mystery of that feast was not like the pagan mysteries, which were the works of demons. He then went to enumerate those pagan mysteries and stories at such length that his account takes up two columns in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*".[29]

It is no accident that the author of *VLB* gives us excerpts in Chapters 3 and 4 of those very parts from the *Homily on the Epiphany* Ševčenko refers to, and also echoes the tenor of other similar passages from the *First Sermon against the Emperor Julian* of Gregory of Nazianzus.[30]

A more detailed approach to the same attitude in John Chrysostom is found in Th. Ameringer's study of his panegyric sermons. John Chrysostom in general urges Christian parents to educate their children in Christian *mores*, but he also recommends to his audience the study of classic poets, philosophers, etc.[31] The text of *VLB* is in line with this tradition of ambiguity that goes back to those Fathers. The attitude of *VLB* is like that of Gregory or of John Chrysostom, and therefore we may safely deduce that the level of classical knowledge of its author was the same or comparable, at the least.

---

[28] For a brilliant account of the history of these developments and further bibliography, see I. ŠEVČENKO, "A Shadow outline of Virtue. The Classical Heritage of Greek Christian Literature (Second to Seventh Century)", in K. WEITZMANN (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: a Symposium* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1980), pp. 53-73.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[30] See Commentary, 3.3, and 4.1-2.

[31] See Th. E. AMERINGER, *A Study in Greek Rhetoric (The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic On the Panegyrical Sermons of St. John Chrysostom* (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Catholic Univ. of America, Washington DC, 1921), pp. 20-24.

It is legitimate to question the relevance of this whole attitude. In other words, paganism in Gregory of Nazianzus' time was "collapsing by itself", as I. Ševčenko puts it, but was still a presence. How could it be an issue in the ninth century when *VLB* was written? I may return to this a little later, but for now I will present a similar example from a later date, which displays the same attitude towards the Classic past and is closer to *VLB* in time than Gregory of Nazianzus. The author in question is Leo the Deacon, the late tenth-century historian of Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimiskes. His history is studded with numerous quotations from classical authors from Homer down to Plutarch. However, at a certain point, after he has explained the occurrence of a devastating earthquake in terms of ancient Greek scientific theory, he adds:

> "The foolish babbling of the Greeks has explained these things the way they want it; but I would go along with the holy David and say that it is through the agency of God that such quakes happen to us, when, as He watches over our ways of life, [He sees] acts contrary to divine ordinance, in the hope that, terrified in this way, men may avoid base deeds, and strive rather for praiseworthy ones."[32]

Here the author's acquaintance with classical Greek scientific theory is on display, but he readily subordinates it in the interests of a Scriptural/religious analysis of the same natural phenomenon.[33] At any rate, *VLB*'s author seems to have a more extensive knowledge of the ancient Greek texts and his acquaintance with a few Aristotelian ideas (even writings) is beyond any doubt.[34]

That knowledge, which may at times be secondhand, forms part of our author's literary ammunition.[35] It resurfaces unwillingly in his writing simply by trickling down into details of his hagiography — both in terms of form and meaning — despite the author's eagerness to sweep it under the carpet. It is difficult to say whether it was through knowledge of the original work or through an anthology that the author came to adopt a

---

[32] See A.-M. TALBOT and D. E. SULLIVAN, *The* History *of Leo the Deacon, Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century* [DOS 41] (Washington DC, 2005), p. 118. For the Greek text see *Leo Diaconus*, *Historia* IV 9 (ed. K. B. HASE, pp. 68.18-69.1).

[33] For this see A. KARPOZILOS, *Βυζαντινοὶ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ χρονογράφοι*, vol. II (Athens, 2002), p. 489.

[34] See Commentary 4.28-31 and **34**.14-15.

[35] One should also keep in mind that the manuals of rhetoric referred to in the previous section incorporated a vast wealth of classical excerpts (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, used Homer and Herodotus), as paradigms for their theory which gave users a fragmented but still real glimpse of Classical literature.

purely Euripidean apostrophe and use it in his text, but, still, the expression is there.[36] Also one cannot ignore, among many others, the few randomly chosen tokens of the author's *archaeomatheia*: In the opening Chapter he opts for the expression δεῖν εἶναι ᾠήθην instead of the most common δέον εἶναι ᾠήθην or simply ᾠήθην.[37] This, together with a number of other expressions can be found as well in classical authors, although learned Christian Fathers such as Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea or John Chrysostom employed almost all of them. The expression ἀρραβὼν βεβαιώσεως in Chap. **23** is an extremely rare one, found only in Lysias and in the *Lexicon* of Harpocration.[38] In terms of form, grammar, and syntax, *VLB* includes the token dual,[39] Attic forms of words instead of more common ones[40] or even Attic syntax.[41]

Therefore, the *Life of Leo of Catania* is one of the typical examples of hagiography in high style, varying slightly from the model provided by the "Ševčenko formula" above. To be more exact, *VLB* is not that rich in direct Classical quotations (quite the opposite) and its debt is much higher to the early erudite fathers such as Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Ps.-Dionysius, and also to earlier hagiography, such as the *Vita Antonii*. On the other hand, scriptural quotations are appropriately placed and sufficient in number for a hagiographical text of medium length.

---

[36] Κακῶς ἀπολλύμενον, see relevant Commentary in **28**.11.

[37] A *TLG* search shows, for example, that the words δεῖν εἶναι do occur in a multitude of classical authors and orators, but also Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Socrates Scholasticus, John Chrysostom, and Theodoretus of Cyrus have used them, though sparingly (no more than two or three times each one). Our author's preference for this combination may also be due to the fact that these words form a "ῥητορικὴ ἐπαναστροφή", a figure of speech favored by him as I show below in note 71.

[38] See Commentary, **23**.13.

[39] Chap. **39**.7: ὁ δυνατὸς *ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ γενόμενος* καὶ κατ' ἀμφοῖν διαλάμπων δίκην ἡλίου.

[40] Chap. **26**.1: περιηγγέλη instead of περιηγγέλθη. In fact, this form occurs only four times in the whole *TLG* corpus: in Arrian, Basil of Caesarea, Genesius, and in the Suda. A more widely used Attic word is also that γόης, which the author employs interchangeably or even together with μάγος (*passim*, note that these two terms are interchangeable already by the fourth century AD: Libanius uses them as such in his *Declamatio* 41). Even more interesting is the expression κατὰ τάχος (Chap. **34**.16), which occurs 44 times in Thucydides, about 80 in Plutarch and 114 times in Procopius, while later authors use it sparingly.

[41] Chap. **1**.9-10: Ἔχει δὲ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὕτως || Chap. **4**.6-7: τὰ ... διδάγματα ... ἀρκέσει || Chap. **29**.11-12: τὰ τῆς ἁμίλλης τοῦ δρόμου τέλος εἴληφεν || Chap. **33**.9: τὰ τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας ... ἐτελεῖτο μυστήρια || Chap. **36**.13: ὦτα διοινήγετο.

Finally, nothing summarizes better the literary nature of *VLB* than its introductory Chapter: two key words — ἀνατάξασθαι and διήγησις — that revoke Luke 1:1, set its religious, Bible-echoing, tone right from the first lines, but, at the same time, the second word (διήγησις) combined with the word ἄχαρις, reveals an author who had a knowledge of ancient literary criticism[42] and was also conscious of his own stylistic capabilities and aspirations. This last example, allows us to conclude that *VLB* is a composition which integrates both Biblical-patristic language with classicizing Greek in quite a well balanced and carefully thought-out narrative plan.

2c) *VLB* and Other High-Style Iconophile Hagiographies

There are numerous hagiographical works in high style from the same period in which I roughly placed the composition of *VLB*. The most significant ones are three works of Ignatius the Deacon: the *Vita Tarasii,* the *Vita Nicephori I,* and the *Vita Gregorii Decapolitae*, hagiographies by the Patriarch Methodius († 843),[43] that include the *Vita Euthymii ep. Sardensis,* the *Vita Theophanis Confessoris*, and the *Laudatio Agathae*,[44] and a few other works, such as the anonymous *Vita Methodii I.* With the exception of Ignatius the Deacon's hagiographies, most of these works have been edited adequately but not studied in depth as have the *Vita Tarasii,* the *Vita Nicephori I* and the *Vita Gregorii Decapolitae.*[45] For this reason I will focus mainly on these *Lives* adding a few remarks on the works of Methodius.

As E. Fisher puts it, already the *Vita Nicephori I* and — to a lesser degree — the *Vita Tarasii* display the same stylistic pretensions and are "written in an artificial, archaic, and grammatically complex dialect of scholarly Greek".[46] The other hagiographies I include in my study are not far from that description. There is no doubt that both Ignatius the Deacon

---

[42] See Commentary, 1.2 and 1.4-5.

[43] For Ignatius the Deacon see *PBE,* entry "Ignatios 9", *PmbZ* no. 2665; for Methodius see *PBE,* entry "Methodios 1", *PmbZ* no. 4977.

[44] E. MIONI, "L'Encomio di S. Agata di Metodio Patriarca di Constantinopoli", *AB* 68 (1950), pp. 76-93 (*BHG* 38).

[45] The first by St. EFTHYMIADIS in the *Vita Tarasii* and the second by FISHER, "Patriarch Nikephoros I", in TALBOT, *Byzantine Defenders*, pp. 25-142.

[46] FISHER, "Patriarch Nikephoros I", p. 34.

and Methodius I went through roughly the same curriculum, which has left its traces in their writing as it did in the case of *VLB*.

A closer look at the texts under examination will verify that in broad terms they do not differ from *VLB*: they all rely on the general precepts of the theoretical manuals of the Second Sophistic. In the works of Ignatius the Deacon classical quotations are slightly more numerous than in *VLB*.[47] The early Church Fathers are also well represented.[48] However, what sets *VLB* apart from most of the high-style hagiographies is a number of differences not apparent at first sight.[49]

Certainly, all the *Lives* of the Saints mentioned above make use of every literary device (together with other characteristics) that can turn a text into a piece of literature.[50] For example, the *Vita Nicephori I*, con-

---

[47] For the *Vita Tarasii*, see the index of citations, which includes the names of Aeschines, Babrius, Euripides, Homer (2 quotations from the *Iliad* and another two from the *Odyssey*), Pindar, and Sophocles (EFTHYMIADIS, *Vita Tarasii*, pp. 273-274). For the *Vita Nicephori I* the names of Aristophanes, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Diogenes of Sinope (3 times), Euripides, Hesiod, Herodotus, Homer (13), Pindar (2), Plato (6) and Sophocles, appear in the footnotes of Fisher ("Patriarch Nikephoros I", *passim*). By comparison, for *VLB*, which is three fifths the length of the *Vita Tarasii* and less than half the length of the *Vita Nicephori I*, I can cite the following names: Aristotle, Dinarchus, Demosthenes, Strabo, Polybius, Athenaeus, Plato, Sophocles and a few more found in the list of Abbreviations in the beginning. I caution the reader against the wholesale acceptance of the list of names I cite in these pages. Some of these classical quotations may have reached the author of *VLB* via the earlier Fathers of the Church, but still nothing precludes first-hand acquaintance. Most of these one-liners, like the quotation from the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides or that from the *Antigone* of Sophocles (Chaps. **28** and **9** respectively) must have been part of the school readings of the author. Homer is conspicuously absent from *VLB*.

[48] For a thorough study of some particularities of Ignatius' style and especially of his knowledge and use of Classical authors see now S. LAMPAKIS, "Παρατηρήσεις σχετικὰ μὲ τὶς ὄψεις τῆς ἀρχαιογνωσίας στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἰγνατίου Διακόνου", in E. KOUNTOURA-GALAKI (ed.), *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th-9th cent.)* [NHRF, Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposium 9] (Athens, NHRF, 2001), pp. 109-132.

[49] L. Rydén has identified *VLB* as a text "written in relatively high style": see *The Life of Saint Philaretos the Merciful Written by His Grandson Niketas* [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 8] (Uppsala, 2002), p. 16. However, it is attention to the details that may improve on this diagnosis.

[50] The vexed question "which Byzantine texts are literature?" has already been treated in a fashion taking into account the modern literary sensibilities by Kazhdan in A. KAZHDAN & G. CONSTABLES, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington DC, 1982), pp. 98-99. His definition (p. 99: "... literary texts are those in which methods of expression that do not convey information but that nevertheless influence the reader or listener are used"), which captures the spirit of the Second Sophistic teachers, such as the anonymous author of the *Περὶ ὕψους* or of Ps. Demetrius, is a good working premise for my present analysis. Kazhdan's definition leaves enough space for treating a text such as *VLB*. Besides this, the following analysis owes much to the methodology pursued by early-twentieth-century scholars such as L. Méridier (*L'influence de la Seconde Sophistique sur l'œuvre de*

cludes with the personal lamentation of Ignatius, the author, about his lapse into Iconoclasm. All in all, this is a rather moving piece in which the learned author displays his remorse in long sentences studded with similes,[51] metaphors,[52] alliterations,[53] and other figures of speech. Similar writing techniques can be observed in the *Vita Tarasii.*[54] However, despite all these, a sense of frigidity permeates both hagiographies as a result of their long and convoluted sentences that usually obfuscate the meaning.[55]

Methodius is no better in this respect. It is my opinion that the best lines in the *Vita Euthymii ep. Sardensis* are the first two:

> Εὐθυμίας φερώνυμον μάρτυρα, τὸν προθυμίας ἱεράρχην αὐτόχειρα, ἐν ἀθυμίας καιροῖς καὶ ὀλιγωρίας τόποις κατὰ τὴν ἀτελεύτητον ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀθάνατον ὑπομονὴν αὐτοῦ ἐνιστορῆσαι λόγῳ καὶ διαγράψαι διηγήσει κελευσθείς... (*Vita Euthymii ep. Sard.* 1; ed. J. GOUILLARD, p. 21.1-3).

The pleasant effect, however, of the *homoeoteleuta* in the first two lines and the almost perfect dactyls that make up two tetrameters in Εὐθυμίας - αὐτόχειρ, the alliteration of rho in the first part and of delta at the end of this section are spoiled by the excessive length of the sentence that continues for another seven and a half lines with not a single full stop. Another sentence seems to promise more:

> Ὧν ὑπερσχὼν τὸ ἔμμεσον καὶ θνητὸν ὁ ὄντως ἐξοχώτατος πατὴρ καὶ πολύαθλος τέθνηκεν οὐ θανών περ τὸ σύνολον καὶ τέθειται μὴ κείμενος καθόλου τοῖς ἐπιβλέπουσιν. Εἰ γὰρ τέθνηκεν ὥσπερ οὖν γε καὶ τέθνηκεν, ποῦ τὰ τοῖς θνήσκουσιν ἐπακόλουθα; (*ibid.* 27; p. 59.538-540).

Grégoire de Nysse, Thèse [Paris, 1906]) and especially Th. E. Ameringer (*A Study in Greek Rhetoric,* as in n. 31 above).

[51] See *Vita Nicephori I patr.* (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 217.13); like most of the similes in this part, this is a Biblical one and compares the author to the Canaanite woman in Luke 13:11.

[52] *Ibid.* (p. 216.19-20), a rather common but still successful one: τῷ κλύδωνι καταβαπτισθέντα τῆς ἀπιστίας ἀνέλκυσον...

[53] *Ibid.* (p. 216.25-28): ἐγγυητὴς γενοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς φρενὸς πρὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ διασάφησον τῷ πάντα εἰδότι καὶ πρὸ γενέσεως, ὡς οὐχ ἑκουσιότητι γνώμης τῷ τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἰταβυρίῳ προσέδραμον.

[54] See EFTHYMIADIS, *Vita Tarasii*, pp. 268-269 for the (selective) Index of Figures of speech. See also the examples mentioned above in n. 11.

[55] Note, however, that obscurity was considered a virtue by some Byzantine intellectuals. Kennedy evaluates this tendency as "one of the few innovations in the theory of style inherited by Hermogenes", see G. A. KENNEDY, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, UNC Press, 1999^2), p. 189.

Again the extensive alliteration here of theta (the initial letter of θάνατος/death) intensifies the meaning of the sentence, and the repetitions also enhance the prevailing sense of death. But the inelegant combination of ρσχ in ὑπερσχών, starts the sentence on the wrong foot (although one might suggest that it adds to the asperity of the whole passage). The rest, of course is as good as the examples I will present from *VLB*. Long and convoluted sentences however, are abundantly used by Methodius as well.[56] The result may have been initially impressive to his audience but, still, the sense of saturation and intellectual exhaustion might have eventually overcome most of the listeners or readers after finishing any of these *Lives*.

It is true that a number of individual expressions in the *Vita Nicephori I patr.* are also extant in *VLB* and I have recorded in the Commentary a few more parallels from many of the high-style hagiographies mentioned above. But in contrast to the shortcomings of the high style hagiographies I briefly examined above, *VLB* seems to be a text that has successfully (or — comparatively speaking — more successfully) applied the precepts of the rhetorical handbooks. As I have pointed out above,[57] the words (οὐκ) ἄχαρις διήγησις in the opening paragraph of *VLB* allude directly to the stylistic theories laid out by the Second Sophistic.

---

[56] Ševčenko ("Hagiography", p. 126 and n. 99) had also noted that obscurity was a particular characteristic of Methodius' literary style, a complaint also of Methodius' contemporaries.

[57] See above p. 48 and note 42. C. Rapp ("Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*", *JECS* 6 [1998], pp. 431-448) has investigated the meaning of the word διήγησις in numerous hagiographies of the first seven centuries of the Christian era. It is rather difficult to see the primary meaning found in many of the early hagiographers applied to *VLB* (*ibid.*, p. 434: ... designate as *diegesis* or *diegema* the narration, either by an eyewitness or based on eyewitness reports, of one or several edifying stories in a style that is distinct from other kinds of literary representations, such as a panegyric...), or even the meaning that Rapp extracts from the particular use of the word by another set of hagiographers (*ibid.*, p. 437: *diegesis* denotes a way of story-telling that finds preferred application in hagiographical writing. This storytelling is characterized by two features in particular...: its simple and unadorned style and its intrinsic truth-value. The absence of stylistic embellishment enables the audience to focus on the content of the story without the distractions of a lofty style...). Closer to what the author of *VLB* implies by this term is the suggestion that (*ibid.* p. 446): "... *diegesis* often means the trustworthy account of divine occurrence by an eyewitness which may even make of its audience immediate participants in the event it describes", which definition has to be understood in conjunction with the condition set by Rapp a few pages before (*ibid.*, pp. 443-444): "... hagiographical accounts ... like ancient and Byzantine novels ... do not make the distinction between truth and verisimilitude or like-truth. Their *raison d'être* is not the accurate representation of historical events, but the direct involvement of the audience in the narrative". Based on this criterion, one can conclude that the audience the author of *VLB* meant to involve was a rather well-educated one.

But before analyzing what the presence of these words might imply in terms of style, let us see, by using them, what the author himself literally means in terms of content. In this respect, the interpretation of this programmatic declaration may be multifaceted, so let me repeat the whole sentence here in order to put the words οὐκ ἄχαρις in their broader context:

> Τὰ κατὰ τὸν ... Λέοντα..., ἀνατάξασθαι τὰ νῦν προτραπείς, δεῖν εἶναι ᾠήθην πρότερον περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καθ' ἱστορίας τρόπον τῷ λόγῳ διαλαβεῖν. Γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν οὕτως οὐκ ἄχαρις ἡ διήγησις οὐδὲ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐκπίπτουσα τάξεως, εἰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὴν γλῶτταν πρῶτον κινήσομεν, ἀξιάκουστά τινα δήπου τυγχάνοντα καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστα·
>
> Since I have been presently urged to recount the [deeds] of ... Leo..., I thought I should first include in my account, following the pattern of historical [writing, information] about the city itself and its inhabitants. In this way, the narrative would not be graceless, nor would its sequence of events be disrupted if I set my tongue in motion concerning these [subjects] first, for they are, I presume, worth hearing and admiring.

In the first place, our author appropriates a basic principle of historical writing that was more or less adhered to by many "classicizing" Byzantine historians of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. (Procopius, Agathias, Menander Protector, Priscus, etc.). As a matter of fact, this principle is not expressly found in any of these historians but it can be easily deduced from their writings and is roughly the following one: in order for history to serve its educational purpose the author/historian should include in his narrative shorter stories, even anecdotal or paradoxographic material in order to enrich the whole narrative. This is how it becomes οὐκ ἄχαρις, as our author puts it.[58]

In the second place, the information that makes *VLB*'s narrative οὐκ ἄχαριν consists in a few details about the city of Catania and its inhabitants, information which, is "worth hearing and admiring". In terms of basic theory of rhetoric, this part of *VLB* is a plain application of Menander's relevant injunction.[59] However, there is more here than what these two considerations imply: in the sequel, the author includes a couple of narratives that are not particularly pleasant, such as the death of Empe-

[58] For a detailed discussion of this principle with many examples see A. KARPOZILOS, *Βυζαντινοὶ Ἱστορικοὶ καὶ Χρονογράφοι*, vol. I (Athens, 1997), pp. 269-270. Cf. also A. KALDELLIS, "The Historical and Religious Views of Agathias: A Reinterpretation", *Byzantion* 69 (1999), pp. 206-252, esp. 207-211 and 221-226.

[59] See Menander's *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (ed. L. SPENGEL, p. 369.18-22). It is worth noting, though, that *stricto sensu* Catania is not the birthplace of Leo, but Ravenna, which is given a line in Chap. 4.

docles and, later, of Heliodorus. In this, he seems to be applying ideas found in a passage from the *Commentarius in XII prophetas minores* of Cyril of Alexandria, which reads as follows:

... ὥσπερ γὰρ εἶναί φαμεν ἀξιάκουστα τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ λαμπρὰ τῶν διηγημάτων, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἕποιτο τυχὸν καὶ τὸ ἐφήδεσθαι δεῖν· οὕτως ἀξιομνημόνευτά πως εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τὰ εἰς λῆξιν ἥκοντα συμφορᾶς τε καὶ παθῶν. μονονουχὶ γὰρ καταβιάζεταί πως καὶ τὰ τοιάδε τὴν λήθην, καὶ φορτικωτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν προσβολὴν ἐκ πολλῆς ἄγαν ἀναισχυντίας ἀξιοῖ μνημονεύεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἡδίστων δόξαις φιλονεικεῖ· ἔχει δὲ ὥσπερ τὰ χρηστὰ τὴν μνήμην οὐκ ἀκερδῆ, οὕτως οἶμαί που καὶ τὰ σκαιά τε καὶ σκυθρωπά. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἔφεσιν ἀρετῆς παραθήγει τοὺς ἀκροωμένους· τὰ δὲ πρὸ ἐφόδου τὴν τῶν κακῶν πεῖραν παραιτεῖσθαι διδάσκει· καὶ δι' ὧν ἕτεροι τετιμώρηνται, διὰ τούτων αὐτῶν τὸ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐναλῶναι ζητεῖν οὐκ ἐφίησί τινας (ed. P. E. PUSEY, pp. 289-290).[60]

The general tenor of this passage is that splendid stories — especially those that offer the element of pleasure (οἷς ἂν ἕποιτο τυχὸν καὶ τὸ ἐφήδεσθαι) — are worth hearing, but just as worthwhile are the narratives that end with disasters and calamities because they also ward off forgetfulness, so the memory of both is equally beneficial: that of the former by inspiring people to emulate virtue and that of the latter by urging them to avoid actions that will lead to disaster and punishment. And this is what the author of *VLB* has in fact practiced in combining stories of a happy tenor with others that end in misfortune (such as the life of Heliodorus himself). Furthermore — and still in terms of content — as regards his introduction, our author seems to be painstakingly applying other precepts of Menander rhetor found in the *Περὶ διαιρέσεως ἐπιδεικτικῶν*.[61] But he adapts Menander's directives to the Christian spirit of his narrative. For example, as a practical application of the rule that a city may be praised even by turning negative aspects of its surroundings into positive ones,[62] the author presents the proximity of Aetna not only as a threatening factor, but, primarily, as a soul-saving proof of the existence of Gehenna.[63]

Still, the reference to pleasure in Cyril's passage raises the question of style which is what gives pleasure in literature. And here we come to the investigation of what our author meant by οὐκ ἄχαρις in terms of style/form. Demetrius in his *Περὶ ἑρμανείας*, defines this ἄχαρι (repulsive) as the style that contains things, "which are disgusting and defile the

---

[60] Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 687: Τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ ἀξιάκουστα τῶν διηγημάτων, κἂν εἰ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔρχοιντο λόγων, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τὸ φορτικόν, ἕψεται δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς πολὺ τὸ ἐπίχαρι.

[61] Menander rhetor, *Περὶ διαιρέσεως ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (ed. Ch. WALZ, pp. 164-174).

[62] *Ibid.* (pp. 165-166).

[63] *VLB*, Chap. 2.5-8.

lips".[64] The author of *VLB* declares programmatically that his narrative will do the opposite. However, here I understand the author's intention not in literal but in theoretical terms. To make things clearer, ἄχαρι (repulsive) is the opposite or, in fact, the corresponding faulty style of δεινὸν (vehement, forceful) style in the *Περὶ ἑρμανείας*,[65] which cannot be the intended meaning of the expression in *VLB*. Instead, in Chapter one of *VLB* the author insinuates that his aim is to make the narrative εὔχαριν (gracious, charming), which is the main characteristic of the so-called elegant (γλαφυρὸν) style. And elegance is what the author is trying to achieve in most of the lines of his narrative. He does certainly mix elements of all four styles described by Demetrius[66] but elegance (γλαφυρότης) is what prevails throughout most of *VLB*. For example, one particular characteristic of the elegant style is the employment of so-called "beautiful words" words which have a "beauty ... that appeals to the ear or the eye, or has noble associations of its own".[67] Words that fit this definition are, for example, the ἀγαθώνυμος παρθενόμαρτυς (Chap. **2**.3) a rare expression that combines words extant only in hymnography.

Needless to say, the extensive — even uninterrupted — euphony that is produced by the continuous alliterations, the etymological and other related figures of speech do also enhance this sense of elegance.[68] Apart from these literary devices the author employs some more. For example: At the end of a sentence or the end of a paragraph, the author is more

---

[64] This technical term raises the question: by employing it, was the author insinuating that any discussion of pagan myths was potentially material "which is disgusting and defiles the lips"? Given the critique the author develops in Chap. **4** of *VLB*, this understanding is not impossible.

[65] See Demetrius, *Περὶ ἑρμανείας* 302.1-3 (ed. L. RADERMACHER, p. 62).

[66] As is also stated in the *Περὶ ἑρμανείας* 36.1-9 (ed. L. RADERMACHER, p. 12), all different styles (elevated, elegant, plain, and forceful) can be mixed except from μεγαλοπρεπὲς (elevated) and ἰσχνὸν (plain, unadorned), (although the author of *Περὶ ἑρμανείας* himself [*ibid.*, 37.1-7, same page], believes that all styles can be mixed with no exception). For *VLB* see, for example, Chapter **2**.10-15: καὶ γὰρ ἐν βρυγμῷ φρικώδει καὶ καταπλήκτῳ λίαν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐν <ὑστέρ>οις καιροῖς ἀναβρασσόμενον ἐξαισίως καὶ ὑπερχεόμενον περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδας καταφέρεται, τῷ ῥοίζῳ τῆς ἀκατασχέτου ῥύμης τὰ συμπαρακείμενα πάντα καταφλέγον ἑκατέρωθεν μέρη καὶ αὐτήν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν πόλιν ἀπειλοῦν ἄρδην ἀποτεφροῦν καὶ ἐξαφανίζειν. The constant alliteration of rho (and to a lesser extent of kappa) which acoustically hints at the volcanic activity, together with the choice of lofty expressions such as ἀναβρασσόμενον ἐξαισίως, ἀκατασχέτου ῥύμης, and πόλιν ἀπειλοῦν ἄρδην ἀποτεφροῦν make the image of a volcanic eruption more vivid and combine thus the elevated with the forceful style.

[67] *Περὶ ἑρμανείας* 173.1-3 (ed. L. RADERMACHER, pp. 34-35).

[68] *Ibid.*, 174-175 (p. 35).

often than not using paroxytone[69] or proparoxytone words or words of which the last accented syllable is two or four syllables distant from the preceding stressed syllable, see for example **2**.15: ἀποτεφροῦν καὶ ἐξαφανίζειν (the stress in καὶ is weakened by the last accented syllable of ἀποτεφροῦν), **3**.6: θεοῖς ἐξομοιωθῆναι, **5**.4-5: μητροπόλεως ἀναδείκνυται, **7**.26: μετὰ πίστεως προσπελάζουσιν, etc. On other occasions, one characteristic of our author's prose brings him again close to Ignatius the Deacon — namely his fondness for concluding a paragraph or a sentence with a double dactyl (in terms of stressed syllables not in terms of prosody, of course). In fact, there are instances in *VLB*, in which the author uses dactyls to build up entire sentences, as is the case of the opening Chapter, where almost all sentences include continuous dactyls:

Τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀξιάγαστον Λέοντα, τὸν περιβόητον πρόεδρον τῆς Καταναίων περιφανοῦς μητροπόλεως ... οὕτως οὐκ ἄχαρις ἡ διήγησις οὐδὲ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐκπίπτουσα τάξεως ... τὴν γλῶτταν πρῶτον κινήσομεν ... ἔσται πάντως ἀνάμνησις τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ μάθησις...

Here I cite a few more examples:

κατονομάσαι διέγνωσαν (Chap. **2**.9-10), μάταιον σόφισμα (**3**.7), δυστυχῶς ἀδοξήσαντος (**3**.13), ἀνατρεπομένης ἑκάστοτε (**4**.5), θεράποντος Λέοντος (**4**.11), πεποιθότος ὡς λέοντος (**4**.13), etc.[70]

Another characteristic of his writing method is somehow difficult to describe, but is also part of what I have called euphony. Broadly speaking, the author tends to use words and syllables in a sentence that sound similar to one another. This way of arranging words usually borders on figures of speech such as alliteration, paronomasia and anagram or even combines all of these together with homoearcha and homoeoteleuta. It can be observed, for example, in the following sentence:

Ὁ δὲ δείλαιος παραχρῆμα τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπαρνησάμενος, κατέρχεται τῆς στήλης μετὰ σπουδῆς πολλῆς, προσέρχεται δὲ καὶ προσπίπτει καὶ συντάσσεται τῷ διαβόλῳ (*VLB*, Chap. **12**.1-3).

The whole phrase seems to have been mostly built around the consonant rho, combined with chi or with pi-alpha or just pi. The combination of chi-rho is very interesting for the following reason: Chi-rho is the monogram of Jesus (and it does occur in a few more alliterations in *VLB*, Chap. **32**). There are two chi-rhos before the word ἀπαρνησάμενος

---

[69] The basic reason for the so called *vitium Byzantinum* in the textual transmission of classical drama, see WEST, *Textual Criticism*, p. 21.

[70] For Ignatius the Deacon and his use of double dactyls see MAKRIS, *Vita Gregorii Decapolitae*, p. 48 and n. 200 and 201 for further bibliography.

(denied [sc. Christ]), but after this, the chi-rho is reversed and becomes rho-chi (κατέρχεται and προσέρχεται). In other words, Christ's monogram is reversed (subverted?) after Heliodorus the magician renounces Him. If nothing else, this is a striking example of form reflecting content, but this is not all. Around these alliterations, other assonances have been added, such as ὁ δὲ δείλαιος (observe the full circle of sounds o-d-e-d[-i-l]-e-o)[71] or στήλης ... σπουδῆς πολλῆς, in which the two last words sound like an acoustic expansion of the two halves of the first word (sti-lis : spou-dis po-lis). In addition, the three verbs προσέρχεται, προσπίπτει, and συντάσσεται are related in that the first and the second form a homoearchon while the first and the third form a homoeoteleuton. Finally, the whole phrase is rounded up with the word διαβόλῳ which is a close anagram of the first word δείλαιος (only the sigma of the first word is not included in the second, and the beta of the second in the first, while the e [as in "get"] sound of alpha iota is an approximation of the alpha in διαβόλῳ). It is also impressive that after this sentence the author continues with repeated alliteration of rho alone that can be possibly interpreted as an additional stylistic device enhancing Heliodorus' act of apostasy.[72]

The entire text is studded from beginning to end with similarly well crafted sentences and this kind of analysis can fill page after page. The last example I wish to include here comes from the epilogue of *VLB*. The following two lines form a perfect couplet of iambic seventeen-syllable verses with a caesura after the tenth syllable:

Ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν οὐρανίων ἐραστὰ // καὶ κληρονόμε Λέον
ὁ λέων ὡς ἀληθῶς πεφηνὼς // καὶ πεποιθὼς ὡς λέων (*VLB*, Chap. **39**.1-2).

Besides the poetic-rhythmic quality of the prose which echoes liturgical patterns, I cannot think of many other Byzantine texts, except perhaps the *Acathistos Hymn,* some works of Psellus, Photius, and the *History* of

---

[71] Noteworthy is also the repetition of the preceding word or syllablle(s) (δὲ) as the initial syllable(s) of the following word (δείλαιος) a rather rare figure of speech called "ῥητορικὴ ἐπαναστροφή", although here it is not as complete as, for example, in: δεῖν εἶναι (Chap. **1**.3), πρὸς τῇ στήλῃ (!; **11**.2), ἀπώλειαν λίαν (**12**.11), τελευταίαν ἀναμένων (**24**.3), ἔμεινεν ἐννεός (**29**.13-14), αἴτιον ὄντα (**30**.9), ἐὰν ἄνετον (**31**.3), ἔδρασεν ἐνδεχόμενον (**31**.13), βλασφημίαις αἰσχρῶν (**33**.7-8), πυρκαϊὰν ἀναφθῆναι (**34**.16), ἐναπετέθη θήκαις (**38**.7-8), and elsewhere.

[72] The possible insinuation here is that since rho is what remains of Christ's monogram in this whole paragraph that revolves around Heliodorus, the magician has not only defied Christ, but also removed Him from his life. Here are a few examples of the rho alliteration: ... πονηρὸν πάρεδρον, περιεργίας ἐργάτην δεινότατον, Γάσπαρ προσαγορευόμενον, παραγγελίαν ... τοῦ σωτῆρος ἔξαρνος ἐπιχειρήσει..., etc.

Leo the Deacon that can offer comparable material for such a literary analysis. *VLB*, on the other hand, offers many similar examples.[73]

All the above analysis, however, is just a small example of what the author indirectly implied by using the terms οὐκ ἄχαρις for his narrative in terms of form.

In conclusion, the balanced use of language and the way the whole narrative is articulated with long chains of subtle alliterations, *paronomasiae*, etymological figures, and, usually, impeccable word choice and positioning,[74] make this text one of the major literary monuments of Byzantine hagiography, a text that would have undoubtedly gained the seal of approval of most of the theorists of rhetoric of the Second Sophistic as a typical example of elegant (γλαφυρόν) style.

2d) *VLB* and Other High-Style Hagiographies

In general, scholarship has paid serious attention to eighth- and ninth-century hagiographies that deal with Saints who were real persons and lived mostly during the period of Iconoclasm. Most of these *Lives* double as historical narratives. Some of them, such as the *Lives* of ninth- and tenth-century Patriarchs of Constantinople have been recently classified as a hagiographical sub-genre.[75] Other *Lives* concern martyrs of Iconoclasm[76] or famous monastic personalities of Bithynia,[77] whose existence and deeds are also partly recorded by other historical sources.

---

[73] See also, for example, the introductory remarks to the Commentary to Chap. **12**.

[74] For all these literary phenomena see the Commentary and the index of figures of speech. In following this working method the author seems to be simply practicing what Dionysius of Halicarnassus had suggested concerning the nature of public speeches in his *De compositione verborum* 11.64-72 (ed. H. USENER and L. RADERMACHER, vol. 6, p. 40): μουσικὴ γάρ τις ἦν καὶ ἡ τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμη τῷ ποσῷ διαλλάττουσα τῆς ἐν ᾠδῇ καὶ ὀργάνοις, οὐχὶ τῷ ποιῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ μέλος ἔχουσιν αἱ λέξεις καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ μεταβολὴν καὶ πρέπον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἡ ἀκοὴ τέρπεται μὲν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ἄγεται δὲ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἀσπάζεται δὲ τὰς μεταβολάς, ποθεῖ δ' ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ οἰκεῖον, ἡ δὲ διαλλαγὴ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον. The only problem is that Dionysius, just like all the literary theorists of the Second Sophistic, was still operating within the frame of the classical Greek system of prosody. Nevertheless the author seems to have successfully adapted the same principle to the accentuated system of pronouncing Greek.

[75] See EFTHYMIADIS, *Vita Tarasii*, pp. 3-6.

[76] Such as the *Vita Michaelis Syncelli*, the *Vita Nicetae Mediciensis*, the *Vita Stephani Iun.*, the *Vita Theodori Studitae*, etc.

[77] Such as the two *Vitae Ioannicii*, the *Vita Petri Atroae*, the *Vita Eustratii Agauri*, etc.

Another group of *Lives* that has received less attention is the one to which the *Life of Leo of Catania* belongs, namely the small number of hagiographies written about Saints of the distant or not so distant past that seem either to ignore or timidly allude to Iconoclasm and its repercussions, although they must have been written during that period or soon after. This group includes, among others, the following:

a number of *Vitae* attributed to Michael Syncellus such as:

the *Laudatio Mocii* (*BHG* 1298h),

the *Laudatio Zachariae* (*BHG* 1881n)[78] and

the *Laudatio Dionysii Areopagitae* (*BHG* 556)[79] which is thought to be the work of Michael Syncellus proper.

To these one may add,

the *Laudatio Nicolai ep. Myrensis* by Andrew of Crete (*BHG* 1362),[80]

the same Saint's *Vita* by Michael (*BHG* 1348),[81] as well as

an essay on St. Nicholas by Methodius (*BHG* 1352y).[82]

Additional works in the same category include:

the *Vita Pancratii* (*BHG* 1419),[83] and

the *Vita Andreae apostoli* by the Monk Epiphanius (*BHG* 102).[84]

Stylistically it is very difficult to place *VLB* next to any of these works although it shares a few traits, for example, with the *Laudatio Dionysii Areopagitae*: its author, Michael Syncellus, seems knowledgeable about the manuals of rhetoric,[85] just as the *VLB* author is. There are

---

[78] For St. Mocius, see ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Laudatio Mocii*, pp. 176-187; the *Laudatio Zachariae* is still unedited. For more works attributed to Michael Syncellus see BECK, *KthL*, pp. 503-505; R. LOENERTZ, "Le panégyrique de l'Aréopagite par Saint Michel le Syncelle", *AB* 68 (1950), pp 103-104, and CUNNINGHAM, *Vita Michaelis Syncelli*, pp. 36-38.

[79] *PG* 4, col. 617-68. Note, however, that in this text there is a veiled allusion to Iconoclasm (*PG* 4, col. 668B-D).

[80] G. ANRICH (ed.), *Hagios Nikolaos*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 419-428.

[81] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 113-139. Anrich (vol. II [Leipzig, 1917], p. 264) dates this work before 842.

[82] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 140-150. See also ŠEVČENKO, "Hagiography", pp. 125-126.

[83] The text has been published as part of a dissertation by C. J. STALLMAN, *The Life of S. Pancratius of Taormina*, vols. I-II, D.Phil. thesis (Oxford University, 1986). According to a theory of mine it should date before 770, see A. ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* [DOS 34] (Washington DC, 1996), p. 225.

[84] *PG* 120, cols. 216-260. For its dating to a period slightly later than the second Iconoclasm see F. DVORNIK, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge MA, Harvard UP, 1958), pp. 225-226.

[85] See *Laudatio Dionysii Areop.*: Πόθεν τοιγαροῦν τῆς εὐφημίας ἄρξομαι; Τοῖς θεσμοῖς τῶν ῥητορικῶν ἐγκωμίων χρήσομαι ἐκ τῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων καὶ διαλυομένων... (*PG* 4, col. 620A).

also a few expressions shared by the two texts but almost never in exactly the same words.[86] The author of the *Laudatio* is fond of alliterations and other figures of speech as well.[87] However, the brevity that characterizes most of the sentences of *VLB* is conspicuously absent from the *Laudatio* with its long paragraphs that accumulate numerous sentences paratactically connected with καί.[88]

In conclusion, although it is still impossible to name the author of *VLB*, Michael Syncellus might have been the closest candidate. However, the differences between *VLB* and the *Laudatio* make this identification impossible. The most I can claim is that the author was perhaps someone close to Syncellus or an unknown member of his school or of his circle.[89]

---

[86] E.g. 1) *VLB*, 4.29-30: δι' ὑπερβαλλούσης ἀρετῆς τελείαν ἀκρότητα καὶ βίου περιδόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν || *PG* 4, col. 617A: τὸν διὰ καθαρότητα βίου καὶ παντοίας ἀρετῆς τελειότητα.
2) *VLB* 4.1-2: Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μῦθοι κακοδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ δαιμόνων δεινῶν ἀναπλάσματα καὶ μαθήματα || *PG* 4, col. 664A: οἱ θεοὶ ... δαιμόνια γὰρ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες και διανοίας κακοδαίμονος ἀναπλάσματα.
3) *VLB* 38.17 || *PG* 4, col. 648C: ἀκεσώδυνον φάρμακον.

[87] Cf. *PG* 4, col. 629D (alliteration of delta and theta with etymological figures): πᾶσαν ποιεῖται κομιδὴν τῆς τοῦ δώρου τηρήσεως, καὶ τῷ δεδωρημένῳ δοτῆρι τῶν ἐάρων καρποὺς ἐπείγεται προσοίσειν τῆς ἀγαθαρχικῆς ἐπαξίους ἀγαθότητος…

[88] For example, in *PG* 4 (col. 629B10-C13), there are 17 independent clauses connected with 16 καὶ and one δέ, but not a single full stop for 18 lines of text.

[89] One should always keep in mind that Syncellus was the teacher of the two Graptoi brothers (for the education of whom see now St. EFTHYMIADIS "Notes on the Correspondence of Theodore the Studite", *REB* 53 [1995], pp. 142-144) and that he also wrote a lengthy treatise on Greek grammar and syntax, in which the author of *VLB* seems also to have been very well trained: see D. DONNET, *Le traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle* [Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes 22] (Brussels – Rome, Institut historique belge de Rome, 1982); also R. H. ROBINS, *The Byzantine Grammarians. Their Place in History* [Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 70] (Berlin – New York, 1993), pp. 149-162.

2e) The Ideology of *VLB*

I. Ševčenko in his article on the hagiography of the Iconoclast period mentions briefly the fact that Iconophile hagiography varied in its tone towards the persecuting Iconoclasts:[90] from the overtly defiant anti-Iconoclastic formulations in the works of Methodius the Patriarch to the veiled Iconophile allusions found in a few other texts, such as the *Vita* of Saint Nicholas of Myra by Michael and the *Laudatio Dionysii Areopagitae.*[91] According always to Ševčenko, the summary of these Iconophile allusions is as follows:

> Michael [the author of the *Vita* of St. Nicholas] ... quoted the passage of the Epistle to the Romans which spoke of the image (*eikonos*) of the Son of God; and he pointed out that Nicholas was a foe of Arianism, a heresy with which Iconoclasts, too, were tainted... In short, Michael suggested that Nicholas used Iconodule Christological arguments.
>
> Nicholas was also an implacable enemy of idols — Michael's is the earliest Nicholas text in which this point makes its appearance. This stress on fighting *pagan* idols may have had something to do with the accusation of idolatry leveled by the Iconoclasts at Iconodules, an accusation which the latter refuted by saying that only worship of *pagan* gods was idolatry... ("Hagiography", p. 119).

Certainly, as Ševčenko admits, the only possible direct textual allusion to Iconoclasm is in one of the last lines of this text, in which the author asks the Saint to "dissipate the designs of those who vaingloriously blaspheme against us".[92] Of significant importance though, is the fact that this direct textual allusion is enough to classify the text as pro-Iconophile. By extension, the points summarized by Ševčenko in the passage cited above also take on a pro-Iconophile identity.

If these are the telltale signs of what we might term a crypto-Iconophile text, how does *VLB* compare to them? First, one may not fail to notice that Leo is also a Saint who destroyed a *pagan* idol just as Nicholas did in the *Vita* by Michael and refuted pagan beliefs.[93] Hence the

---

[90] See ŠEVČENKO, "Hagiography", p. 119.

[91] I have already mentioned it (above n. 79), the text reads as follows: τὸν οἰκτίρμονα Θεὸν ἐξιλεούμενος καὶ πρεσβεύων ... τὴν μὲν τῆς περιστοιχιζούσης βίας ἐπάχθειαν ἀποστῆσαι καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν τυραννίδα καταπαῦσαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπαχλύζουσαν ἐπαμῦναι κατήφειαν, γαλήνην δὲ καὶ βαθεῖαν ἀταραξίαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιβραβεῦσαι... (*PG* 4, col. 668C).

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 119, n. 46. Greek text: τῶν ἀλαζονευομένων καθ' ἡμῶν δυσσεβῶς τὰς βουλὰς διασκέδασον, τῶν κατοφρυουμένων ἀλογώτατα τὴν οἴκησιν [lege οἴησιν?] ἔκτριψον (ed. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos,* vol. I, p. 139.5-7).

[93] See *VLB*, Chap. 7.3-6.

relevance of *VLB* to paganism even in the ninth century, a question, which I left unanswered above in Section 2b (p. 46). In other words, paganism was still relevant during the Iconoclast period for two reasons: first as a direct Iconoclast accusation against the Iconophiles and, second, as an Iconophile argument that refuted this very accusation by claiming that Christian worship was entirely distinct from pagan idolatry,[94] especially in view of the fact that idolatry was abolished and even persecuted with the coming of Christ.[95] In addition, even after the end of Iconoclasm, Saint Ioannicius,[96] an Iconophile monk and a staunch supporter of Patriarch Methodius I, saw in Iconoclasm not only the presence of Judaism but also of paganism.[97] But on the subject of other heresies, *VLB* is very vague: Leo is presented as fighting unspecified heresies in three instances and this is all.[98]

The parallels between *VLB* and other crypto-Iconophile texts may stop here, but this does not necessarily mean that the text is a neutral narrative irrelevant to Iconoclasm, as my preliminary approach suggested above.[99] An argument can be made for *VLB* as an *ad personam* Iconophile invective against a particular Iconoclast. As such, its focus on personal invective may be the main reason why the dogmatic aspects of the Iconoclastic controversy are not apparent in *VLB*.

---

[94] For the indignant response of the Iconophile Christians to the Iconoclasts' accusation of idolatry cf. the Iconophile *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, the earliest version of which dates before 770: Διὰ τί δέ, παράνομε αἱρετικέ, λέγεις με εἰδωλολατρεῖν; τίνος γὰρ εἴδωλον προσκυνῶ, εἰπέ μοι, Ἀπόλλωνος, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἀπόλλοντος, ἢ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν διδάσκουσάν με τὴν ἔνσαρκον αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν (*PG* 95, col. 313.26-29).

[95] For this see, CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics*, pp. 37-40, and also A. ALEXAKIS, "The *Dialogue of the Monk and Recluse Moschos concerning the Holy Icons,* An Early Iconophile Text", *DOP* 52 (1998), p. 191 (Greek text) and pp. 197-200 (English translation and commentary). Although the text is early (roughly second third of the fifth century) its ideas were accepted by the eighth and ninth-century Iconophiles and it was known, at least, to the Patriarch Nicephorus I (*ibid.*, pp. 222-223).

[96] For Ioannicius, see *PBE*, entry "Ioannikios 2" and *PmbZ* no. 3389.

[97] See the edition of a fragment from a letter of Methodius I in which the Patriarch informs his addressee that St. Ioannicius urged him not to receive the Iconoclast clerics in the church because with them Judaism and paganism will enter the orthodox church: ... εἰ δέξῃ τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς λειτουργούς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς, οὐ μόνον ἰουδαϊσμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑλληνισμὸν δι' αὐτῶν προσάξαι τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπεκδέχου... (J. DARROUZÈS, "Le patriarche Méthode contre les Iconoclastes et les Studites", *REB* 45 [1987], p. 54). I wish to thank Dr. X. Lequeux for this reference.

[98] *VLB*, Chaps. **6**, **36** and **39**.

[99] See pp. 44ff.

If, as we saw in the previous paragraphs, *VLB* shares, at first glance, a few characteristics with some texts that we may call crypto-Iconophile, what does Heliodorus stand for? In Section 4 below I deal with Heliodorus as a magician proper, but here I may approach him as an allusion to a real person. M.-F. Auzépy sees in the Heliodorus of *LL* someone who is a Christian on the one hand, but practices idolatry on the other, which "ne peut pas être autre chose qu'iconodulie". As a matter of fact, Auzépy identifies Heliodorus as an *alias* of the Iconophile bishop Theodore of Catania, a signatory of the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.[100] In *VLB*, however, the kind of idolatry practiced by Heliodorus is not a metaphor, but real idolatry that can invoke demons, who are, in fact, the descendants of the Greek pantheon, as Chapters **2-4** of *VLB* appropriately suggest.[101] In examining *VLB*, all possibilities for a straightforward reading should be exhausted first.

On the other hand, A. Acconcia Longo has identified Heliodorus and his antics with the author of the *Ethiopica* Heliodorus of Emesa and the stories he recounts. In her interpretation:

> ...L'autore del romanzo d' amore [i.e. Heliodorus of Emesa] diviene il corruttore del fanciulle [in *LL*], il narratore di viaggi avventurosi diventa il protagonista di spostamenti diabolici, l'alchimista è un imbroglione che trasforma sostanze vili in oro e poi le riporta allo stato primitivo per ingannare i mercanti e distruggere la vitta economica della citta..." ("La Vita", p. 15).

This is the first step, which leads to the next stage of her interpretation of Heliodorus. In Heliodorus' transformation of the boat he draws on the beach into a real one (*VLB,* Chap. **25**; *VLA,* Chap. 12) Acconcia Longo sees a reflection of the iconoclastic theory of icons in which a direct identification of the image itself is made with the object that receives worship (and which was for the Iconoclasts plain idolatry).[102] Acconcia Longo does not go as far as Auzépy in postulating an individual Iconophile behind Heliodorus. She simply recognizes in him someone who incited people to idolatry, and this idolatry — given her general view of *VLA* as a pro-Iconoclastic text — could only mean iconoduly. Still, in a later publication in which she criticizes Auzépy for her eagerness to see

---

[100] AUZÉPY, "L'analyse littéraire", pp. 64, 66 and n. 69. See also PEERS, *Subtle Bodies*, pp. 152-153, who takes Auzépy's thesis at face value.

[101] For more on this, see below Section 4, where I treat the magic of Heliodorus.

[102] As Acconcia Longo further elaborates, "... l'episodio sembra inoltre risentire della ripugnanza iconoclasta per un uso delle immagini, indubitamente tropo vicino alla magia, ammesso dagli iconoduli" ("La Vita", pp. 45-46).

a historical person behind Heliodorus, she also describes Heliodorus as "... un certo typo di cultura ellenizzante che gli Iconoclasti considerano responsabile dell'idolatria iconodula..."[103] In the same publication however, Acconcia Longo admits that this view is ambiguous and can also be seen on display on the Iconophile side. As she very ingenuously remarks: "Tale ambiguita infatti attraversa ambedue i campi: se da parte iconoclasta si crea un personaggio come Eliodoro, da parte iconodula i connotati sinistri del mago vengono riversati sull'iconoclasta Giovanni Grammatico".[104] As is evident in the approach of the two scholars I have summarized above, Heliodorus "ranks among the Iconophile partisans who are described by the Iconoclasts as guilty of compromising with paganism".[105]

Although Kazhdan has already criticized Acconcia Longo's identification of Heliodorus with Heliodorus of Emesa,[106] a criticism to which I also subscribe, there is a possible alternative interpretation of the persona of Heliodorus the magician. This is an interpretation Acconcia Longo touches upon, but readily dismisses in the passage stated in the previous paragraph. In the sequel, I will try to present the case for a Heliodorus who depicts someone belonging to the Iconoclastic camp.

Among the many names and comparisons used to describe him in *VLB*, Heliodorus is also called "another Iannes or Iambres or Simon".[107] Undoubtedly, these are standard reference names for someone who was both a magician and a heretic.[108] But it so happens that it was the Icono-

[103] I have to note that, although this statement seems reasonable, I have not found any authority to support it and Acconcia Longo gives no reference. This pronouncement may be related to the theories about Iconoclasm as a clash between Hellenic and Jewish/Oriental tendencies in the Christian Church, but the little that is preserved from the Iconoclastic literature generally seems to castigate pagan idolatry, not any known individuals that adhered to a "cultura hellenizzante". The whole matter is further complicated by the fact that it is Leo the Philosopher (*PBE*, entry "Leo 19" and *PmbZ* no. 4440), a purported Iconoclast, and of course John the Grammarian, that in the sources are accused of paganism. For an analysis of the few Iconoclastic documents see St. GERO, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V* [CCSO 384, Subsidia 82] (Louvain, 1977), pp. 36-110 for the "*Inquiries*" of the Emperor Constantine V and for the *Horos* of Hieria. As Lemerle has also pointed out, the stories about Iconoclastic persecution of education (*ergo* of "cultura hellenizzante") represent a rather slanderous development of Iconophile historiography (LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism*, pp. 98-105). For a contrasting view, though, of Iconophile hostility to Classical literature, see in DVORNIK, *Légendes*, pp. 25ff. and ID., "Patriarch Photius, Scholar and Statesman", *Classica Folia* 14 (1960), pp. 10-11.

[104] ACCONCIA LONGO, "A proposito di un articolo", pp. 15-16.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[106] See above Section 1b.2d.

[107] The first two in *VLB*, Chap. 9.4; the third in *VLB*, Chap. 9.4, 13.15, and 17.11.

[108] See Commentary, 9.4, 11.11, 13.15-19.

philes who invoked the names of both Iannes and Simon, in textual and visual polemics against a particular Iconoclast: Ninth century hagiographies, hymnography, later historiography, and even ninth century manuscript miniatures designate the Iconoclast Patriarch John VII the Grammarian (837-843) as a "second Iannes",[109] or as "Simon, second Simon", etc. The references are numerous and it is impossible here to list them all.[110] As a selection, I will present a list of expressions that are applied both to John the Grammarian by the sources and to Heliodorus in *VLB*. I will also trace some parallel incidents in the narratives in which they play a part.

First, Heliodorus becomes the "second/other Iannes... and Simon" because of his ambition and desire for political power (*VLB,* Chap. **9**.12-16) and is eventually destroyed by Leo of Catania just as Simon was destroyed by Peter.[111] John the Grammarian becomes a Simoniac and a magician as a result of his greed/avarice and is destroyed by Patriarch Nicephorus I, just as Simon was destroyed by Peter.[112] This parallel is also borne out by two illuminations found in fol. 51ᵛ of the Khludov Psalter.[113] The upper one of these illuminations depicts the Apostle Peter pointing down at the fallen Simon. Next to this illumination is an

[109] See Commentary, **9**.3-4 for other sources, and also KAZHDAN, "Note 19", p. 206.

[110] The following two publications richly document the way John the Grammarian is presented in the sources: ŠEVČENKO, "Anti-Iconoclastic Poem", pp. 45-48 for the written sources, and CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics*, pp. 27-30.

For bibliography on John the Grammarian see *PBE,* entry "Ioannes 5" and *PmbZ* no. 3199, 3304 (very thorough biography and exhaustive citations from the sources). See also LILIE, *Die Patriarchen*, pp. 169-182, ŠEVČENKO, "Anti-Iconoclastic Poem", p. 41 n. 7; LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism*, pp. 154-168; DVORNIK, *Légendes*, pp. 41-43 and 70-77, TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 208-209, 309-313, and *passim*; MAGDALINO, "The Road to Baghdad", pp. 195-201, 206-207 and 209-210.

[111] See *VLB*, Chap. **13**.15-19.

[112] The proximity between the accusations of greed against John the Grammarian and "lust for political power" against Heliodorus is much closer if one considers that the office Heliodorus tried to obtain in *VLB* was that of the prefect. The prefect was chiefly responsible for the financial/economic life of a city (see also the relevant comment in the end, Chap. **9**).

[113] The Khludov Psalter is an illuminated manuscript (*Moscow, Hist. Mus.* 129D) that dates from the second half of the ninth century and must be partly reproducing another Psalter that was possibly completed soon after the liquidation of Iconoclasm (843-847) and included miniatures that had been produced perhaps even earlier (before 843), see ŠEVČENKO, "Anti-Iconoclastic Poem", pp. 52, 57, and 60. For a facsimile reproduction of this codex see ŠČEPKINA, *Miniatiury*, the references are by folio nos.; most recent bibliography in J. C. ANDERSON, "Further Prolegomena to a Study of the Pantokrator Psalter: An Unpublished Miniature, Some Restored Losses, and Observations on the Relationship with the Chludov Psalter and Paris Fragment", *DOP* 52 (1998), pp. 305-321 and esp. 315ff., and R. CORMACK, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2000), pp. 99-103.

inscription that reads "Peter destroys Simon Magus on account of his avarice". The lower miniature shows the Patriarch Nicephorus I trampling John the Grammarian, who is sprawled on the ground surrounded by numerous barely visible coins. The inscription also reads: "Patriarch Nicephorus pointing to Iannes, the *second Simon* and Iconoclast".[114] Viewed in this context, *VLB* adds a third pair to the ones depicted by the Khludov Psalter miniature: next to Peter and Simon Magus and Nicephorus I and John the Grammarian, one might not be wrong in adding Leo of Catania and Heliodorus.

In another folio of the Khludov Psalter (fol. 35^{v}) John the Grammarian is depicted as a towering figure (inscribed Iannes), holding a moneybag in his right hand, while another moneybag and a basket full of coins are depicted on his left. A small demon (inscribed "avaricious demon/φιλάργυρος δαίμων") is inspiring him from his left hand side. As K. Corrigan observes, this illustration illuminates verse 35 of Psalm 36.[115] As it happens, this is the very same verse that in *VLB* (Chap. **28**.9-10) forewarns the reader of Heliodorus' downfall just after his second escape from Constantinople. From this point to establishing a parallel between John's avarice and the disruption of the economic life of Catania through the transformation of base materials into precious metals by Heliodorus, the distance is not long. In fact, it becomes even shorter if we take into account the fact that Heliodorus disrupted the life of Catania in revenge for not being made an eparch, a post that presumably entailed financial responsibilities and advantages.

Furthermore, Heliodorus' indirect association with the pagan philosopher-magician Empedocles as described in *VLB* possibly has its parallel in the way John the Grammarian is presented in the spurious *Canon epinicius seu victorialis in erectione ss. imaginum*, attributed to Theodore

---

[114] The Greek inscriptions read: ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΓΕΙ ΣΙΜΩΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΓΟΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΑΡΓΥΡΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΥΠΟΔΕΙΚΝΟΙΩΝ ΙΑΝΝΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ ΣΙΜΩΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΧ(ΟΝ). See also CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics*, pp. 27-28, and nn. 3 and 6. For a photo of this fol., see ŠČEPKINA, *Miniatiury*, fol. 35^{v} and also TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival*, p. 256 with additional comments. For a different iconographic approach to John VII present in the later Madrid manuscript of Skylitzes see now G. BOECK, "Un-Orthodox imagery: voids and visual narrative in the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 33 (2009), pp. 17-41, esp. 20-27.

[115] Ps. 36:35: εἶδον ἀσεβῆ ὑπερυψούμενον καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics*, p. 29.

the Studite, but in fact composed in or after 843, perhaps, by Methodius.[116] One of the *troparia* of this canon's seventh ode reads as follows:

> Οὐκ ἔδει σε, ὦ παράνομε, ὀνομάζεσθαι τοιαύτην κλῆσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Κρόνον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ἤ τινα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὧν τὸν βίον ἐζήλωσας, τερπόμενος ταῖς ἀσελγείαις αὐτῶν (*PG* 99, col. 1776C).[117]

In terms of social characteristics, both Heliodorus and John the Grammarian are described as descending from noble families.[118] Just like Heliodorus, John the Grammarian is called γόης and μάγος in some hagiographies and his deeds are described as μαγγανεία and γοητικαὶ ἀπάται.[119] However, John is also called λεκανόμαντις, ὑδρομάντης, μαγόμαντις[120] and φαρμακός, terms, which the *VLB* author avoids when he refers to Heliodorus.[121] Heliodorus is considered the forerunner of Antichrist (*VLB*, Chap. **14**.1), as is also John the Grammarian in numerous sources.[122] Concerning Heliodorus' pact with the Devil (*VLB*, Chaps. **9-10**), there is no explicit parallel to it in the sources dealing with John the Grammarian, apart from a vague reference in the *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armeno* that from boyhood he was possessed by a demon and for this reason he was called Hylilas.[123]

---

[116] For this attribution see J. GOUILLARD, "Fragments inédits d'un antirrhétique de Jean le Grammairien", in "Mélanges V. Grumel" = *REB* 24 (1966), p. 171, n. 1, with no further explication.

[117] Interesting is also the reference to the "lewd acts of [ancient] gods", in which John "finds pleasure", for which see below p. 68.

[118] John is reported to be a member of the noble family of Morocharzan(m)ioi, see the *Compendium historiarum* of Cedrenus (ed. I. BEKKER, vol. II, p. 144.2), but there has been some dispute about his noble pedigree, see TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 368-369, and also *PBE*, entry "Ioannes 5", and LILIE, *Die Patriarchen*, pp. 169-170.

[119] *Vita Macarii Pelecetae* 11 (ed. J. VAN DEN GHEYN, p. 154).

[120] In fact, this particular sobriquet appears in the *Vita Theophanis Conf.* 47 (ed. V. LATYŠEV, p. 30), a work written before 832.

[121] Unless, of course, one "reads" into Heliodorus' spectacular escape through a bottle of water from Constantinople (*VLB*, chap. **22**.1-14) another reference to water and water-vessel magic, such as the water-divination (λεκανομαντεία) of John the Grammarian.

[122] See ŠEVČENKO, "Anti-Iconoclastic Poem", pp. 46-47, for a thorough listing of hagiographical and historical sources.

[123] Concerning the association of both Heliodorus and John with the Devil this is an interesting parallel: Heliodorus' name may be related in two ways to the sobriquet Hylilas (Ὑλιλᾶς), by which John the Grammarian is known to the *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armeno*: a) According to this source, the sobriquet in question meant in Hebrew "forerunner and helper of the Devil" (see ed. I. BEKKER, pp. 350.1, 351.11, and 352.5), and Heliodorus is also termed as such. b) Heliodorus and Hylilas is not a bad *homoearchon* and the fondness of *VLB*'s author for this figure of speech is evident throughout the *Vita*. Besides, as Mango (*The Homilies of Photius*, p. 241, n. 31) suggests, Hylilas derives "from the Hebrew Heylel in Isaiah 14.12, usually rendered as Lucifer", or heosphoros/ἑωσφόρος in Greek. I see no reason why Heosphoros

Another interesting detail is found in three Iconophile hagiographies of the second Iconoclasm: in the *Vita Theophanis Conf.* 47,[124] we are told that John the Grammarian used to imprison and torture the Iconophiles, who refused to follow his Iconoclastic views. The most common form of torture inflicted by John was starvation and thirst.[125] In the *Vita Ioannis Psichaitae* 7,[126] John the Grammarian confined the Saint in an attic, full of smoke from the hearth underneath, and left him to starve for many days. He also confined St. John of Cathara and starved him in the same way, according to the Synaxarion of Constantinople entry.[127] It seems that John was famous for inflicting this kind of punishment on the Iconophiles. On the other hand, Heliodorus also visits famine on the citizens of Constantinople when he is condemned to death for the second time by the Emperors.

Another parallel of similar nature is the following: John VII was said to have built a house, called the Troullos, outside the city, where he performed sacrifices, communed with demons and disclosed the future to the emperor; the house is said to have remained unoccupied thereafter because of the demons who had visited it.[128] In Chap. **16** of *VLB* Heliodorus is sought out by the soldiers of the eparch of Catania but cannot be found. His house is abandoned, swept clean and completely bare, a situation attributable to demonic operation.

In addition, one should not ignore the Jewish factor in the lives of both Heliodorus and John the Grammarian. A Jewish influence is obvious in the guise of the Jewish magician who in effect introduces Heliodorus to the Devil, thus serving as a quasi-spiritual guide, while John the Grammarian's support of Iconoclasm automatically places him among the so-called *Ioudaiophrones* (those who think like Jews).[129] This, too, has some wider implications for *VLB*, both in terms of dating and ideology: as a text characterized by a certain anti-Jewish sentiment, *VLB* is in accordance

---

cannot be a synonym for Heliodorus in the context of subverted/inverted semiotics present in *VLB*.

[124] Ed. V. LATYŠEV, p. 30.

[125] *Ibid.*, same pages.

[126] Ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, p. 117.

[127] *Synax. CP*, p. 633.

[128] Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Chronicon* 16 (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 799); Ps.-Symeon, *Chronographia* 13 (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 635).

[129] Cf. A. A. VASILIEV, "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II", *DOP* 9-10 (1956), pp. 26ff. Note also the pronouncement of Starr ("An Iconodulic Legend and Its Historical Basis", *Speculum* 8 [1933], p. 503): "... 'Jew' was a stigma merited by all iconoclasts".

with what is also "very typical in ninth-century Byzantium".[130] Moreover, this anti-Jewish feeling makes it easier to place *VLB* in the Iconophile camp.[131]

Later historiography also gives us an image of John which is not that far removed from *VLB*'s depiction of Heliodorus: in Theophanes Continuatus' *Chronographia* 7,[132] we are told that John was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople because he used to predict the future for the Emperor Theophilus with the help of hydromancy. Moreover, John, by some kind of sympathetic magic, was once able to neutralize the attack of three combined armies against Byzantium. This magic involved John chanting an incantation while three men with iron hammers knocked off the three heads of a bronze statue in the Hippodrome[133] at midnight.[134]

John also had a powerful brother who was called Arsaber and was a patrician.[135] The name 'Arsaber' sounds very like that of Heliodorus' assistant demon Gaspar.[136] This brother owned an estate somewhere on the Bosphorus coast, which included magnificent buildings, luxurious porticoes, a bath, and cisterns. Close to the entrance of one of the buildings a flight of stairs led to an underground chamber which John and his "associates and helpers" used in their orgies with honorable women and nuns,[137] and for performing all sorts of magic, divination and even necromancy.[138]

---

[130] MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius*, p. 151. For anti-Jewish polemics in ninth-century psalters see CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics*, pp. 43-61.

[131] See Mango's relevant remarks on two homilies (X and XI) of Photius featuring strong anti-Jewish sentiments: "... Most defenders of images, including Photius, liken or equate Iconoclasm with Judaism..." (*The Homilies of Photius*, pp. 151-152 and esp. p. 152); see also below p. 70-72.

[132] Ed. I. BEKKER, pp. 154-157.

[133] See also C. MANGO, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder", *DOP* 17 (1963), p. 61.

[134] For an evaluation of all this information as a possible indication of John's involvement with astrology/astronomy, see now MAGDALINO, "The Road to Baghdad", p. 207.

[135] For Arsaber see *PBE*, entry "Arsaber 5" and *PmbZ* no. 602.

[136] In fact the two names are close anagrams of one another: both share two alphas, one rho, and one sigma and have one labial consonant (pi and beta).

[137] It is possible to see a parallel between this accusation and the episode in which Heliodorus humiliates honorable women by conjuring up an imaginary river which makes them hoist their tunics up to their thighs, in *VLB*, Chap. **14**. Another possible parallel can be found in Chap. **15**, in which Heliodorus induces such a burning lust in the daughters of the nobility that they leave their homes and consort with strangers. A third parallel might be the incident involving Aithalia in which Constantinople is supplied with fire from her private parts in Chap. **28**.

[138] Theophanes Cont., *Chronographia* IV, 8 (ed. I. BEKKER, pp. 156.21-157.9).

Pseudo-Symeon is another historical source that repeats much of what other sources (and especially the *Scriptor incertus*)[139] have said about John, but also adds that "he had a demon since his childhood".[140] The expression is very vague and it is unclear whether the intended meaning is that "John possessed a demon" or "was possessed by a demon", but, still — especially if the former is the applicable meaning — this is another element present in Heliodorus' narrative. The rough outline of what has been described so far comes strikingly close to the story of Heliodorus with parallels too numerous to be ignored,[141] but John is not the only recipient of such historiographical abuse.

A set of stories also exists, close to *VLB*, that have been included in the *Chronographia* of Ps.-Symeon and are meant to smear the reputation of someone who must have been alive at the same time as the author of *VLB* and, perhaps, outlived him. When this person was born it was predicted that he would prove a disaster to the Church: while pregnant, his mother saw a dream in which she gave birth to a snake, and St. Hilarion of Dalmatos interpreted this to mean that she was carrying Satan in her womb; while the great Ioannicius declared that her offspring "ignored the ways of the Lord". Then, while this person was still at school, he renounced Christ while under the influence of a Jewish magician, who gave him an amulet/phylactery that enabled him to learn by heart all the censored books of magic and astrology. As two monks also revealed, this person (who resembles Heliodorus) had as a servant (ὑπουργόν), a demon called Lebouphas, who aided magicians, guided adulterers and robbers, and befriended pagans.[142] The irony here is that this someone is no other than the Patriarch Photius (c. 810 - c. 895), who, as a matter of fact, had

---

[139] See above, p. 66 and n. 123.

[140] Ps.-Symeon, *Chronographia* 4 (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 606.11-16).

[141] An additional example is presented here without any further claim of being foolproof: As I demonstrated above in Section 2a (p. 41), the author of *VLB* has borrowed most of the terms he uses to belittle Heliodorus verbally from the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux. Almost all of them come from a list of words to denigrate a sophist. On the other hand, in many sources John the Grammarian is described in terms usually applied to sophists, such as λόγιος δυνάμενος λέγειν (*Vita Michaelis Syncelli* 13; ed. M. B. CUNNINGHAM, p. 68), τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιρρητικοὺς λόγους κεκτημένον δραστήριον (Theophanes Cont., *Chronographia* III, 9; ed. I. BEKKER, p. 96, understood by MAGDALINO, "The Road to Baghdad", p. 197 as "skilled debater"), γραμματικῆς ἐμπειρότατος ὢν ὑπὲρ τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τῆς πάντων ἀφυεστάτου ψευδολογίας δαιμονιώτερον ὄργανον... (*Vita Theodori Studitae* 32; *PG* 99, col. 277D).

[142] Ps.-Symeon, *Chronographia* 29-31 and 34 (ed. I. BEKKER, pp. 669-670, and 672-673). Noteworthy here is the correspondence of the qualifications of Lebouphas with the deeds of Heliodorus (Lebouphas: helper in magic, adultery, robbery, and paganism, which seem to cover all aspects of Heliodorus' career in sorcery).

both intellectual and familial ties (he was a nephew of the Iconophile Patriarch Tarasius) with the circle of people from which *VLB* must have originated.[143]

The obvious conclusion of the above account is that if Byzantine historians recorded stories about magic and sexuality with the objective of vilifying John the Grammarian (and Photius in second place),[144] hagiographers must have thought it permissible to draw on the same material for the same purpose. The only difference between Ps.-Symeon and the continuators of Theophanes on the one hand, and *VLB* on the other, is that while the historians were writing long after the death of John the Grammarian, our author was probably risking his personal safety and welfare in composing *VLB* under the reign of the Iconoclast Theophilus and his Patriarch John the Grammarian.

Apart from these points, I might add one or two considerations of a general nature in favor of the anti-Iconoclastic tenor of *VLB*. The first is related to the whole concept of Jewish influence on Iconoclasm. In most of the sources that refer to the origins of Iconoclasm the Jewish presence is prominent: Jewish sorcerers prophesied to Leo III that he would become an emperor. The same Jews asked Leo III to destroy the icons when he ascended the throne in return for their prophesy.[145] In this respect, it is rather striking that in *VLB* a Jewish sorcerer instructs Heliodorus on how to meet with the Devil.

---

[143] For Photius' date of birth see TREADGOLD, *Byzantine Revival*, pp. 436-437 and n. 386 and WILSON, *Scholars*, pp. 89ff. for his education; see also *PBE*, entry "Photios 1", *PmbZ* no. 6253. J. Hergenröther (*Photius, Patriarch von Konstantinopel. Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma*, vol. 1 [Regensburg, 1867], pp. 317ff.) seems to have given some credit to these stories, but more recent scholars, such as Dvornik ("The Patriarch Photius in the Light of Recent Research", in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* [München, 1958, III/2], p. 1) are eager to dismiss them. A more recent analysis of the "mythic elements" of this account was made by Gouillard ("Le Photius du Pseudo-Syméon Magistros", *RESEE* 9 [1971], pp. 397-404) and, finally, see C. MANGO, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios", in BRYER and HERRIN, *Iconoclasm*, pp. 12-13.

[144] Heliodorus, however, cannot be an *alias* for Photius for a number of reasons. The most significant one is that *VLB* must have been written before Photius was appointed Patriarch for the first time (858) and second, another document that is openly hostile to Photius, that is the *Vita Ignatii patr.*, does not contain any of these stories (although Kazhdan [*ODB*, p. 1670] claims that both the *Vita Ignatii* and Ps.-Symeon draw on the same hostile source/pamphlet for their portrayal of Photius).

[145] See for example the long version of the anonymous *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* 19 (*PG* 95, col. 336C-337A), and also the more embellished story in the second alternative ending of the *Epistula trium patriarcharum* 10-21 (ed. J. MUNITIZ, pp. 97-103). For a detailed analysis of these and other texts that relate the same legend or variations of it, see SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht*, esp. pp. 139-254.

A second point is related to the concept of the pact-with-the-Devil. Unfortunately, we do not know if the Iconoclasts actually accused the Iconophiles of any transaction with the Devil. It seems obvious that it was more appropriate for the Iconophiles to have made this accusation. The reason is simple: since image-veneration was a well-established religious practice by the eighth century, the prohibition of this practice was a novelty, and by implication a work of the Antichrist. So it is no surprise that the Iconophile *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, written around 809 refers to the Iconoclast Emperor Constantine V as someone who made "pacts with demons" and sacrificed a little child to them.[146]

The third is the connection of heresy — Iconoclasm in particular — with sorcery.[147] Again, the scarcity of relevant references in Iconoclastic sources is frustrating. At least, in the Iconophile *Vita Stephani Iunioris* we do find one allusion which suggests that the Iconoclasts accused the Iconophiles of sorcery: the Emperor Constantine V calls Saint Stephen a sorcerer (γόης), but this is all.[148] Another instance involves Saint Peter of Atroa, who — according to his *Vita* — was accused of sorcery by some Iconoclast bishops and abbots after he delivered the wife of a patrician from a demon that possessed her. Theodore of Studios, whom Peter asked for help in this matter, wrote a letter defending his friend's Orthodoxy. This incident is recorded in the *Vitae* of both Saints;[149] however, the *Vita Theodori Studitae* does not identify Peter's accusers and leaves us with the impression that he was accused mainly because of his extremely harsh

---

[146] *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 64: καὶ Μαύραν τὸν τόπον ὠνόμασεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δαίμονας συνθήκας ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ εἰς θυσίαν δοθὲν τοῦ Σουφλαμίου παιδάριον (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 165.13-20; French transl.: p. 264 and n. 405). Speck also interprets a number of references in primary sources as indications or "starting points" of the legend of the "pact with the Devil", contracted especially by Constantine V, see, for example, SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht*, pp. 67-68, 160-62, 541, etc.

[147] For earlier instances of official association of heresy with sorcery (and, often, its decidedly slanderous character), see DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 267-271, where the cases of the Nestorian Ibas, bishop of Edessa, and that of Priscillian are examined, and also *ibid.*, pp. 275-281. See also, Y. P. STOYANOV, "Der Magier als Häresiarch in der mittelalterlichen orthodoxen Häresiologie", in A. GRAFTON and M. IDEL (eds.), *Der Magus: Seine Ursprünge und seine Geschichte in verschiedenen Kulturen* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 27-64 and esp. 48-50.

[148] See *Vita Stephani Iun.* 35 (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 134.11 [Greek text] and p. 229 [French translation]).

[149] *Vita Petri Atroae* 37 (ed. V. LAURENT, pp. 145-149); for the letter of Theodore, see *ibid.* 38, p. 148, n. 1. For the *Vita Theodori Studitae* 59, see *PG* 99, cols. 316C-317A.

monastic regime.[150] On the other hand, accusations of sorcery against Iconoclasts abound in Iconophile sources:[151] it was through the influence of Jewish sorcerers that Leo III was led to Iconoclasm;[152] Constantine V was devoted from his early youth to sorcery, divination, necromancy, and the invocation of demons.[153] It is only fitting, to conclude this list of Iconoclasts-sorcerers with John VII the Grammarian.[154]

In the light of the above considerations (especially the first), A. Acconcia Longo's and M.-F. Auzépy's assumption that Heliodorus is an *alias* of an Iconophile results in the paradox of a (metaphorical) Iconophile who learned his Iconoduly with the help of a Jew, the very person who in the sources is seen as the epitome of Iconoclast ideology.[155]

In other words, most existing Iconophile sources present a scheme of things in which Iconoclasm is seen as the invention of the Antichrist. Consequently, it is usually the Devil who, with the assistance of Jews, teaches Iconoclasm to his associates. These disciples were the Byzantine Iconoclasts and, especially, Constantine V, and John VII, who were also sorcerers. The parallels between this general scheme and the career of Heliodorus are obvious.

Summing up, I would suggest that *VLB* is an anti-Iconoclastic work and Heliodorus is a deftly contrived reference to John VII the Grammarian. The affinity of the *VLB* text with the Khludov Psalter miniatures depicting John the Grammarian and their inscriptions has helped me give a final shape to my theory on the nature, the *raison d'être*, the authorship, and the date of *VLB*.

---

[150] The text is rather clear here: ... παρηγγύησεν αὐτῷ ἠπιοφρόνως ἀπογεύεσθαι ὀλιγάκις ἄρτου τε καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδεσμάτων τῆς μοναχικῆς μεταλήψεως, διὰ τὴν φιλεγκλήμονα τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων γνώμην καὶ ὑποδήμασι δὲ κεχρῆσθαι ἐν ταῖς χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς (*PG* 99, col. 316D). Theodore admonished Peter in very mild terms to eat a little more and wear shoes in winter.

[151] For a thorough review of the issue see now, MARASCO, "Stregoneria", pp. 69-89.

[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

[153] *Ibid.*, p. 73 and n. 11 for references to primary sources.

[154] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-86.

[155] In order to maintain the logical integrity of the assumption that Heliodorus represents an Iconophile we have to accept that the metaphor does not extend to all the constituent parts of the Heliodorus narrative, in this particular case the presence of the Jew: in the frame described above, that sorcerer represents metaphorically someone or something that I am unable to identify.

2f) Conclusions

I may conclude, therefore, that *VLB* is a masterful piece of ninth-century crypto-Iconophile hagiography that must have successfully veiled its primary purpose - that of demonizing to the highest possible degree the Iconoclast Patriarch of Constantinople John VII the Grammarian. Stylistic considerations suggest that the author was someone who shared the same educational background with many pre-eminent ninth-century Iconophiles. But he was better than any of them in applying the lessons of rhetoric and grammar he had learned at school. As a hagiography produced in *samizdat*, *VLB* must have originated from an Iconophile milieu that was discontented with John the Grammarian. And such milieux were many and more or less interconnected: Michael the Syncellus († 846) and the Graptoi brothers, Theodore and Theophanes († 841 and 845 respectively); Patriarch Nicephorus I († 828) or some members of his circle, who were perhaps behind the creation of the illuminations preserved in the Khludov Psalter,[156] and, of course, the Sicilian Patriarch Methodius († 847). It is reasonable to assume that *VLB* was written in Constantinople or its environs, (where most of these people were scattered in exile during the second Iconoclasm). Finally, we can narrow down the date of *VLB* to the reign of Theophilus (829-842),[157] or, perhaps, to the patriarchate of John the Grammarian (838-843).[158]

[156] For the circle of Nicephorus' friends see a passing reference in ŠEVČENKO, "Anti-Iconoclastic Poem", p. 60.

[157] Another possibility with regard to the date of *VLB* is the following: *VLB* was written soon after the restoration of the icons in 843 by someone who belonged to the entourage of the Patriarch Methodius. There are a number of arguments that support this possibility, such as the fact that the people of Constantinople suddenly showed an interest in a Sicilian Saint, which can only be explained by the fact that Methodius, the Iconophile Patriarch of Constantinople between 843 and 847, was himself a Sicilian. Then there is this reference in Chap. 7 to the shrine of St. Lucia and the reference in Chap. 2 to St. Agatha, Saints for whom Methodius composed a canon and an *encomion* respectively (A. KOMINIS and I. SCHIRÒ, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 4: Dec. [Rome, Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici, Università di Roma, 1976], pp. 279-287, 820 and E. MIONI, "L'encomio di S. Agata di Metodio Patriarca di Costantinopoli", *AB* 68 [1950], pp. 76-93). One more reason is that Methodius needed a text like *VLB* in order to diminish the influence John the Grammarian exerted among the clergy of Constantinople even after his deposition (for which see D. AFINOGENOV, "The Great Purge of 843: A Re-examination", in ROSENQVIST, *Λειμών*, pp. 79-91). I would accept this slight change of date, if I did not think that had *VLB* been written in the period after the fall of Iconoclasm its tone might have been much more outspoken and aggressive and perhaps included direct references to John the Grammarian. Certainly, Methodius himself didn't mince his words in the hagiographies that he wrote in prison, even during the reign of the Iconoclast emperor Theophilus. The only argument against this objection of mine is that the biographer of Michael Syncellus, who wrote after 843, opted for a circumlocution (though a

If we still wonder why the author went to such lengths to mislead the majority of his audience about the identity of the person he attacked, we should remember that better known Iconophiles were often circumspect.[159] Even Michael Syncellus' biographer, who wrote after the end of Iconoclasm in 843, preferred to use a circumlocution when he had to refer to John the Grammarian.[160] Furthermore, if this kind of invective — i.e. attacking an Iconoclast Patriarch by transforming him into a magician, who strikes a pact with the Devil and performs all sorts of unbelievable feats — strikes us as absurd or impossible, we must remember that this was a rather common practice throughout the history of Christianity. The *Panarion* of Epiphanius which dates back to the turn of the fifth century, is a handy collection of such stories (albeit shorter and less numerous than those of Heliodorus).[161]

It must be evident by now, that the genius of *VLB*'s author is apparent not only in details concerning form, but also in his ability to compose a narrative that could pass as an innocent and irrelevant story of a magician destroyed by a virtuous Saint, but at the same time, serve as a condemnation of one of the most hated oppressors of the Iconophiles. Of course, given the possible historical circumstances of its creation, this libel was meant to be perceived for what it was by those Iconophiles who had the educational and intellectual ammunition to decipher the allusions. Circumstances may have put to rest *VLB*'s function as a piece of Iconophile "resistance" shortly after its composition, but its literary merits kept

---

transparent one, see below n. 160) rather than the name of John the Grammarian. My final decision, however, rests on the much more hushed tone of *VLB* and the numerous veiled allusions it contains which suggest to me that the author was unable to express his opinion freely.

[158] The criterion for this dating is simply the period during which John the Grammarian held any kind of power. This means that the margin of *VLB*'s date could be placed some years earlier, perhaps as far back as 815: although he became a Patriarch in 837, John the Grammarian was already after 815 the "protégé" of Emperor Leo V and always connected with the Palace, later serving as a tutor of the Emperor Theophilus.

[159] See ŠEVČENKO, "Hagiography", p. 119.

[160] See *Vita Michaelis Syncelli* 13: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διά τινος λογίου δυναμένου λέγειν τε και ἀκούειν, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἑκὼν ὑπερβήσομαι... (ed. M. B. CUNNINGHAM, p. 68, and p. 150 for comments).

[161] Especially for the Iconoclast period Marasco ("Stregoneria", p. 89) has aptly observed that these accusations were exploited "per la loro forte presa sull'opinione pubblica e sull'immaginario colletivo, ma anche rese credibili dalla convinzione, comune a iconoclasti e iconofili, che gli avversari fossero strumenti del diavolo, e pertanto forniti dei poteri che quest'ultimo elargiva ai suoi adepti...".

it from falling into oblivion for centuries and certainly contributed to the creation of yet another legendary Saint.[162]

2g) Appendix: The Cult of St. Leo of Catania

However, one issue raised by this last statement deserves further attention: to wit, the establishment of Leo of Catania as a Saint with his own feast day and a place in the *Menologia* and, eventually, in the *Synax. CP.* How did this happen? Here we can only speculate, so in what follows I will try to put together the available information.

E. Follieri assumes that Leo of Catania is "... un tipico esempio di santo proprio del menologio italo-greco passato a sinassari bizantino-orientali...".[163] But my postulate in this study, which is that *VLB* precedes *VLA*, makes this assumption rather difficult. Of course, it can be argued that the cult of Leo of Catania was at first limited to Catania and later spread to the East, perhaps during the Iconoclast era. The existence, however, of St. Joseph the Hymnographer's Canon for St. Leo of Catania attests, at the very least, to the presence of a cult of St. Leo in the Byzantine East during the first half of the ninth century, while the earliest manuscript of Italian origin that transmits *VLA*, the codex *Vaticanus Gr.* 1641, is a product of the late tenth or early eleventh century. As a *Menaion* for the whole year, this manuscript indicates the presence of the cult of St. Leo in Southern Italy more than a century later than it is attested to in the East. Officially, St. Leo appears in the monastic *typica* of Southern Italy after the thirteenth century and the text prescribed to be read out on his commemoration day is again *VLA* not *VLB*.[164] Therefore, on the basis of the existing manuscripts and texts it seems more likely that the cult of St. Leo originated in Constantinople or the Byzantine East than in Southern Italy.[165] How this happened is impossible to say, but I would

---

[162] For the process of the creation of hagiographical legends see the classic work of H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques* [SH 18] (Brussels, 1955⁴).

[163] E. FOLLIERI, "Il culto dei Santi nell'Italia Greca", in MACCARONE, *La Chiesa Greca*, p. 561, n. 2.

[164] See above p. 9, n. 1 and PERTUSI, "Rapporti tra il monachesimo Italo-Greco", pp. 492-493.

[165] Halkin is also aware of this problem in an indirect way. In the course of his examination of an Italo-Greek synaxarion contained in codex *Paris. Gr.* 50, he singles out a number of Italian Saints (such as Agatha, Leo of Catania, Pancratius of Taormina) who are also included in the Greek calendar and for this reason "... ne peuvent servir à distinguer les italo-grecs de ceux qui sont purement byzantins" ("Un synaxaire", p. 26); cf. also *ibid.*, p. 28: "... Ni

suggest that the inclusion of St. Leo in the Byzantine cycle of Saints is possibly related to the initiative of Joseph the Hymnographer, who was also Sicilian and an Iconophile. N. Patterson-Ševčenko has shown beyond doubt that Joseph the Hymnographer has played a significant role in the promotion of the cult of St. Nicholas in Constantinople. She has also suggested that the Hymnographer's canons might be responsible (at least in part) for the establishment or further advancement of the cult of other Saints:

> "There is a further corollary to be exploited, namely, the role of the hymnographer in promoting the cause of a particular saint, past or present. Joseph, for example, wrote three canons and a kontakion to his master Gregory the Dekapolite, and a canon and a kontakion to Patriarch Ignatius; he wrote a canon to Ioannikios, and one to Andrew in Krisei. He honoured lesser figures as well: he is said to have composed an entire akolouthia for Peter of Athos, and he may have written a canon to a colleague from his early days, known only as the ascetic John. To what extent did his compositions result in the introduction of a new saint into the calendar?" ("Canon and Calendar", p. 107).

The answer to the last question is easy since it is known that by the time *VLB* was written, the official proclamation of sainthood was not yet subject to a formal process and therefore a Saint's inclusion in the *Synaxaria*, the *Menologia*, the *Menaia*, and other liturgical books simply indicated wider acceptance of his or her status.[166] Consequently the inclusion in the *Menaia* compiled by Joseph the Hymnographer[167] of a canon which lauds Leo of Catania is proof that Leo was already established as a Saint in Constantinople before the middle of the ninth century.

The next step in this process was the admission (or re-admission?) of Leo as a Saint by Italo-Sicilian Christians, an event that should be connected with the creation of *VLA* some time during the tenth century and, perhaps, confirmed by the inclusion of St. Leo of Catania and his *Vita* *(VLA)* in the Greco-Italian *Menaia* and *typica* starting perhaps from the eleventh century.[168]

S. Grégoire d'Agrigente (24 nov.), ni Léon de Syracuse [lisez Catane] (20 févr.) ... ni Fantinus (30 août) ne peuvent servir à fixer la provenance d'un ms.".

[166] See TSAMES, Ἁγιολογία, pp. 127-129 and esp. 129.

[167] See TOMADAKIS, Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνογράφος, p. 76.

[168] See PERTUSI "Rapporti tra il monachesimo Italo-Greco", pp. 492-493. This possible course of events can be supported by the postulate of extensive contacts between Greek (Studite first and Athonite later) and Sicilo-Calabrian monastic communities for which see *ibid.*, pp. 480-491, with much emphasis on the dependence of early Sicilo-Calabrian *typica* on Studite or Athonite regulations.

We can therefore conclude that St. Leo of Catania is a legendary Saint whose sanctity was probably established first in the Byzantine East, perhaps in Constantinople, by a number of Iconophiles of whom many were of Sicilian origin. Eventually, the cult of Leo was transplanted to Southern Italy and Sicily, where it became established.

* * *

3) SAINT LEO THE FICTITIOUS BISHOP AND HISTORY

The nature of the *VLB* makes it almost impossible to identify the real Leo of Catania. A. Acconcia Longo has already discussed in length the possibilities: as she points out, the only solid information we have about Leo is that he hailed from Ravenna, that he looked after the possessions of the Church of Ravenna in Sicily during a certain period, that his predecessor was called Sabinus, and that he died on February 20th.[1] Earlier scholarship made Leo the predecessor of Theodore, who was one of the signatories to the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, and placed him in the see of Catania before 785 and, possibly, after 750.[2]

The only documented bishop of Catania before the ninth century by the name of Leo was a recipient of letters from Pope Gregory the Great from the period between the years 591 and 604.[3] Clearly, this bishop cannot be our Leo. Still, both the historic and the fictional Leo did persecute magicians. For the historic Leo we have the evidence of letter XIV.1 by Pope Gregory the Great. In it the Pope praises Paul the Scholastic for his reconciliation with Leo of Catania and for the zeal that both displayed in *ultione maleficorum*.[4] As Acconcia Longo points out, this is one piece of historical reality the fictional Leo inherited from the real Leo.[5]

Apart from this, however, it is impossible to fix on dates for the fictitious Leo, and in this respect both *VLB* and *VLA* differ. While *VLA* assigns Leo to the reign of "our most divine Emperors Leo and Constantine",[6] who may be either Leo III and Constantine V (717-776), or Leo

---

[1] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 9-13.

[2] See F. FERRARA, *Storia di Catania sino al fine del secolo XVIII* (Catania, 1829, reprinted by A. FONDI for the series *Biblioteca Istorica della Antica e Nuova Italia* n. 60), p. 30 and also PAVONE, *Storia di Catania*, p. 34, who assigns the period 765-785 to Leo's episcopate.

[3] See B. SAITTA, *Catania medievale* (Catania, 1996), pp. 16-26, and also LANZONI, *Le diocesi d'Italia*, p. 626.

[4] See D. NORBERG (ed.), *S. Gregorii Magni registrum epistolarum libri,* vol. 2 [CCSL 140A] (Turnhout, Brepols, 1982), p. 1064.

[5] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 12.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 89 (Greek text) and pp. 10-11 (discussion) and also pp. 43-55, where she correctly (but for reasons entirely different from mine — see below, p. 81), identifies the two emperors as Leo III and Constantine V.

IV and Constantine VI (776-797),[7] the manuscript tradition of *VLB* is divided. The majority of the manuscripts name Leo and Constantine while others name Constantine IV and Justinian II.[8]

No official documents provide any proof for the presence of a Leo on the throne of Catania during the eighth century,[9] and it is equally difficult to settle on the end of the seventh century for his episcopacy. Thanks to the *PBE* and the *PmbZ*, we can be almost certain that even during that period the existence of a Leo is dubious. More specifically, there are three bishops that can be dated to the second half of the seventh century, and this diminishes the chances of Leo occupying the see of Catania in the 680s. There is a bishop called Julian (Ioulianos), one of the hundred and twenty-five Western bishops, who attended the Council of Rome at Easter in 680.[10] He had succeeded a bishop called George attested in 679,[11] and there is also another bishop of Catania who cannot be dated exactly, but whose seal is roughly placed in the middle or late seventh century.[12] This leaves very little space to accommodate the episcopacy of Sabinus[13] and Leo (685 onwards?).

If anything of historical value can illuminate the purported dating of our Leo of Catania, it is the fact that the whole narrative in all its versions seems to ignore the presence of the Arabs, who, already by the time of Constantine IV (668-685), were conducting raids in Sicily and attempting, from the year 827 onwards, to occupy part of the island.[14] Even this

[7] ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 11 and 43-55. Two more advocates of the possibility of Leo IV and Constantine VI being the emperors named in *VLB* are: R.-J. LILIE, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI (780-802)* [BBS 2] (Frankfurt am M., P. Lang, 1996), pp. 15-16 and DA COSTA-LOUILLET, "Saints de Sicile", p. 90 n. 1 and p. 91 n. 2. See also KAZHDAN, "Note 19", pp. 205-206.

[8] See also the Commentary, **16**.11-12.

[9] See ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 11: "altri documenti non proveranno l'esistenza di un vescovo Leone di Catania nell'VIII secolo...".

[10] See *PBE*, entry "Ioulianos 3" and *PmbZ* no. 3551. See also KAZHDAN, "Note 19", pp. 206.

[11] See *PBE*, entry "Georgios 104" and *PmbZ* no. 2021.

[12] See *PBE*, entry "Konstantinos 310" and *PmbZ* no. 3753.

[13] See also below Commentary, **5**.5 (*PmbZ* no. 6470, between 680 and 684?).

[14] PAVONE, *Storia di Catania*, p. 34; da Costa-Louillet ("Saints de Sicile", pp. 89-90) states the same conclusion but on the basis that *VLA* was written before 787 AD. See also V. SAXER, "Relazioni agiografiche tra Africa e Sicilia", in PRICOCO, *Storia della Sicilia*, p. 33; Saxer dates *LL* to the period 780-787, but also notes that: "... la Vita non parla mai dell'Africa. La Vita ... si muove ancora essenzialmente sulle orme dell'agiografia siciliana antica". For the expansion of the Arabs in Sicily see also Ph. K. HINDI, *History of the Arabs* (London and Basingstoke, 1974[10]), pp. 602-614.

omission, however, is of no conclusive value in dating Leo's episcopacy, since it might well have been due to ignorance or to a conscious cover-up of Sicilian affairs on the part of the author. The other obvious inference is that the author simply ignores the Arab presence because he wants to create a historical semblance for his narrative that is earlier than the late seventh century,[15] but this suggestion implies that the names of the Emperors mentioned in Chaps. **16** and **17** are a later interpolation, a possibility that cannot be excluded.[16] At any rate, assuming that the author himself penned the names, Leo and Constantine are better candidates than Constantine and Justinian. If my conclusions concerning the nature of *VLB* as a piece of Iconophile resistance under John the Grammarian are correct, these names are an additional deceptive device: they would have been thoroughly approved by the Iconoclasts who, perhaps, saw them as their champions Leo III and Constantine V, and acceptable to the Iconophile audience who possibly identified them with the two emperors who did not commit themselves to Iconoclasm, namely Leo IV and his son Constantine VI, the restorer of icons.[17]

Another possible historical element in the *Life of Leo* that may also point back to an earlier period is the information about the managerial duties of Leo prior to his elevation to the episcopal throne (*VLB,* Chap. **4**). The curatorial or similar office that Leo held presupposed the existence of the *patrimonium* of the Church of Ravenna in Sicily, which is largely attested up to the late seventh century.[18] After that period the sources are

---

[15] A conscious cover-up might be the most likely case here since one should keep in mind that the Arab advances in Sicily were the cause of serious Byzantine concerns, especially on the part of the Emperor Theophilus, who sent an embassy to Umayyad Cordoba in 839-840. For this poorly documented aspect of Byzantine history of diplomacy, see E. MANZANO MORENO, "Byzantium and al-Andalus in the ninth century", in BRUBAKER, *Byzantium in the Ninth Century,* pp. 219-222 and p. 227, where the seriousness of the problem of the Arab presence in the Mediterranean is also stressed.

[16] A closer look at the end of Chap. **16** reveals that the names Leo and Constantine are incidentally inserted in the middle of a sentence slightly disturbing its balance: διὰ γραμμάτων τοῖς τότε τὴν βασιλείαν διέπουσιν, [Λέοντι λέγω καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ,] δηλώσας λεπτομερῶς ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς ῥαδιουργίας καὶ κακουργίας αὐτοῦ, περιεχόντων τὸν τύπον τοῦτον. The alternative reading (Constantine and Justinian) leaves the original sentence intact but involves much more drastic additions, which sound like a gloss (see also the Commentary, **16**.11-12).

[17] Within this frame of thought, another deed of Leo can also be viewed as a deceptive device on the part of our author: this is the replacement of the "*xoanon*" with the cross in Chap. 7. For Acconcia Longo ("La Vita", p. 46) this is a typically "iconoclastic gesture", but she admits the fact that the cross was also the object of Iconophile veneration.

[18] See my Commentary, 4.34-37: that the *patrimonium* of the Church of Ravenna was second only to that of Rome see NOBLE, *The Republic of St. Peter*, p. 243, n. 157. The same statement is also found in LANZONI, *Le diocesi d'Italia*, p. 623. For the *patrimonium* of Ra-

silent and this *patrimonium* cannot have existed after the transfer of the Illyricum and Sicily to Byzantium in 732,[19] or, later, after Ravenna fell to the Lombards in 751.[20]

Apart from these historical elements, *VLB* (and *LL* in general) is a rather un-historical piece of literature, closer in this respect to the *Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini*, which is loosely based on another bishop, Gregory of Agrigento — a contemporary of the real Leo of Catania — and is basically an elaboration on a few elements that may have contained a historical kernel.[21]

Despite the fictitious character of Leo of Catania, his personality is to some extent commendable, especially when compared to that of his opponent Heliodorus. From early childhood Leo follows the process of character building expected of most Saints. When he arrives in Catania, he displays various qualities that suit an Aristotelian individual who lives a

---

venna see also the article of Fasoli ("Patrimonio della Chiesa", pp. 69-75 with earlier bibliography), in which the author makes clear that the latest concrete references to the *patrimonium* come from the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* of Agnellus of Ravenna and do not go beyond the late seventh century. See also ID., "Il patrimonio della Chiesa ravennate", in A. CARILE (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna*, vol. 2.1 (Venice, 1991), pp. 389-400, esp. pp. 392-394; Fasoli, in fact, opens this article with the statement: "È dato per certo che nel secolo VI il patrimonio fondiario della Chiesa ravennate fosse inferiore soltanto a quello della Chiesa romana..." (p. 389).

[19] Unfortunately, M. Anastos' two articles — "Leo III's Edict against the Images in the Year 726-727 and Italo-Byzantine Relations between 726 and 730", *ByzF* 3 (1968), pp. 5-41, and esp. 25-41, and "The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732-733", *SBN* 9 (1957), pp. 14-31 — deal only with the Roman *patrimonium* in Sicily. At any rate, for the Iconophile leanings of the Church of Ravenna and its conflicts with the Iconoclasts of Constantinople see D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS "Agnellus of Ravenna and Iconoclasm: Theology and Politics in a Ninth-Century Historical Text", *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 559-576 and esp. 563-567.

[20] Fasoli ("Il patrimonio della Chiesa ravennate", p. 394) passes over in silence those historical instances that are crucial for the existence of the Sicilian *patrimonium*, the disappearance of which she places in the early ninth century after the Arab invasions: "Del patrimonio di Sicilia non si sente più parlare, è evidente che andò perduto al tempo dell' invasione musulmana...". However, as one may see in the two articles by Anastos (previous note), the Exarch of Ravenna sided with the Byzantine Emperor in the early stages of Iconoclasm, which means that the *patrimonium* of his church was left intact. However, the appearance of the Lombards and their eventual capture of Ravenna (751 AD, see NOBLE, *The Republic of St. Peter*, p. 57) may have served as an ideal excuse for the transfer of the Sicilian-Ravennese *patrimonium* to the jurisdiction of Constantinople as well, if, as I have stated, this did not happen earlier. For this *patrimonium* see also T. S. BROWN, "The Church of Ravenna and the Imperial Administration in the Seventh Century", *The English Historical Review* 94, No. 370 (1979), pp. 1-28 and esp. 17-18.

[21] For the (slim) historical basis of the *Life of Gregory of Agrigento* see BERGER, *Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini*, pp. 53-57 and esp. p. 56 and n. 135 for the parallels with Leo of Catania (Berger bases his conclusions on Acconcia-Longo's study of *VLA*).

virtuous life.[22] As a result of this, he is appointed caretaker of the estates of the Church of Ravenna in Catania. After his appointment to the episcopate, his activities do not differ from those of other saintly bishops such as the Iconophile bishop of Sardeis Euthymius who lived during the time when *VLB* was probably written: Leo defends the true faith against heresy and paganism, miraculously destroys an idol and builds a church in its place, and takes great care of the material and spiritual welfare of his flock, paying particular attention to the poor. Among these activities is his controversy with Heliodorus, whose corrupting influence he must eventually eliminate by all means. It has been convincingly argued by M. Forlin Patrucco that this outline of an episcopal *"curriculum vitae"* conforms to the ideal episcopal character which emerges from the hagiographical *dossier* on St. Basil the Great.[23] I see no valid objection to this, although I have to point out that, as I have shown in this study, Patrucco's original assumption that *VLB* is a work of exclusively Sicilian provenance is not accurate.

In any case, real antecedents apart, there may be no actual historical information in any of the stories about Leo, which seem to comprise a literary work designed for those readers able to spot the allusions made within the frame of particular historical circumstances. As such, *VLB* was not meant to speak openly and Leo therefore remains a figment of the author's imagination.

Before, however, we resign Leo to this fate, is there any way we can assign him some semblance of historicity? This question raises another one: just as there are a number of parallels established between Heliodorus and John the Grammarian, is there anything in *VLB* that could possibly establish similar links between Leo and John the Grammarian's nemesis Nicephorus I?

---

[22] See Commentary, 4.28-31.

[23] M. FORLIN PATRUCCO, "Agiografia basiliana e agiografia siciliana", in PRICOCO, *Storia della Sicilia*, pp. 73-76. In Gregory of Nyssa's funerary *oratio* (*BHG* 244), St. Basil is described as "a *didaskalos* successor to the Apostles, and the early fathers" (*ibid.*, p. 63) while in a second funerary *oratio* of Gregory of Nazianzus (*BHG* 245), he is presented as someone endowed with "... profonda conoscenza delle Scritture, strumento privilegiato della difesa della ortodossia religiosa; intrepida opposizione alle prevaricazioni del potere civile, garanzia di una autorità episcopale non passibile di limitazioni, distacco totale dai beni materiali e dalle lusinghe del mondo...". Finally, the supernatural material is present in other narratives related to St. Basil – even down to the pact with the Devil, which appears in the biography of St. Basil written by his disciple and successor Helladius. It is easy to see that all the above characteristics can also apply to Leo of Catania.

Apart from the fact that both were scions of noble families, there are a few signs in Leo's career that might point towards Nicephorus I.[24] The first common factor is the way in which both were elected to the Episcopal office, although the description of Leo's election is a little vague in *VLB*.[25] At any rate, if my reading is correct, Leo was elected to the see of Catania *per saltum*,[26] just as Nicephorus was to the see of Constantinople. Leo was an *Oikonomos* or a *rector* of the Church of Ravenna in Sicily, and Nicephorus, too, at the time he was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, had a semi-secular position, which was largely managerial, since it involved the supervision of the great poorhouse of the Church.[27] In this context, caring for the poor forms part of the *curriculum vitae* of both Saints in a manner that goes beyond a simple conventional hagiographic statement. In fact, the general list of Leo's accomplishments found in *VLB* is not very different from the more specific one recounted in the *Vita Nicephori I patr.*, but the vagueness of *VLB* prohibits further comparisons. Nevertheless, a final link between Leo and Nicephorus is that both show intransigence towards heretics and all those who try to subvert Christianity. We may find cruel the way Leo burned Heliodorus at the stake, but we should not forget that it was at Nicephorus' instigation that in 812/813 the Emperor Michael I imposed the death penalty on Paulicians, Athinganoi, Jews and other heretics, and had some of them executed.[28]

---

[24] For Nicephorus I, see *PBE*, entry "Nikephoros 2" and *PmbZ* no. 5301.

[25] See Commentary, 4.31-32, 4.32-33, 5.1-3 and 5.2-3.

[26] For this term see P. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 68-70, and also my comments in 5.1-3. Appointment to the episcopal office *per saltum* was not an uncanonical step in the career of many prominent Byzantine churchmen; however it became an issue later on, especially during the patriarchate of Photius, and in the West was viewed as a serious misstep. This may be also the reason for the differences that exist between *VLB* and the Latin version *BHL* 4838 of the *Life of Leo*. As we have seen (above pp. 11-12), according to this version, Leo left his parents at the age of 23 and went to Reggio, Calabria, where he was ordained first presbyter and then "archidiaconus" by the bishop of Reggio, Cyril. I have already stressed that this is the segment of the narrative in which *BHL* 4838 differs substantially from *VLB*. The suggested explanation is found in the possible attempt of the later Italian author to eradicate any thought of a *per saltum* appointment of Leo to the see of Catania as is described in *VLB*.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64. The text in the *Vita Nicephori I patr.* 18 reads: τοῦ μεγίστου πτωχείου τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλίδα ἐπιτροπεύειν... (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 152). For the "largest poorhouse" see more in FISHER, "Patriarch Nikephoros I", p. 57, and n. 117.

[28] See Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. C. DE BOOR, pp. 494-495), and P. ALEXANDER, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications", *Speculum* 52, (1977), pp. 239 and 245.

I do not wish to push the comparison any further, but the little that we have mentioned above is enough to show that there are some significant common elements in the characters of Leo and Nicephorus I. Unfortunately, once the correspondence between Nicephorus-Leo and Heliodorus-John the Grammarian is potentially established on the basis of the few things we already know from other sources, we are left stranded. Certainly, another parallel between Nicephorus I and Leo might be the names of their predecessors: Leo succeeded Sabinus (Σαβῖνος), Nicephorus succeeded Tarasius (Ταράσιος). Both names share the same vowels (in the same order), and two sigmas. Of course, there are other names closer to Tarasius, such as Gerasius or Euphrasius or Asterius, but there must be some balance between what is too obvious and what is subtly alluded to, especially when one writes against the authorities. It is impossible to extrapolate anything more from *VLB* in terms of facts, because details concerning the life of Nicephorus and, to a much greater extent, of John the Grammarian are missing. We cannot, therefore, verify whether, for example, the conjuring up of a white horse by Heliodorus (Chap. **29**) corresponds to, or is a metaphor/allegory for any real event in the life of John the Grammarian.[29] Or whether this same incident, which also involves the nephew of Leo of Catania, Chryses, echoes a quarrel between Nicephorus and John the Grammarian in which a younger relative of Nicephorus was also involved. To our dismay, we also know very little about the relationship between the two brothers, John the Grammarian and Arsaber, which means that any guess based on a relationship between Heliodorus and Gaspar, is pure speculation — and that this is the point at which both the philologist and the historian must stop.

* * *

[29] Following the same line of thought, is it possible that the incident recorded in the *Vita Ioannis Psichaitae* 7 (ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, p. 117) — in which John the Grammarian confines the Saint into an attic, which fills with smoke from the hearth/fire underneath — can be seen as a real event metaphorically related to the command Heliodorus exercised over the fire in Constantinople (*VLB*, Chaps. **27** and **28**)?

4) THE MAGICIAN HELIODORUS

4a) Introductory Remarks

In the gallery of medieval magicians between the end of Late Antiquity and the ninth century very few characters are as richly delineated as Heliodorus: his life story is schematically complete, from his being given birth by a noble woman to the motives and circumstances that turn him into a magician, to his subversive acts and, finally, his cruel death. Christian sources have treated few individuals with such thoroughness and one might argue that it is only the later cycles of stories about magic, such as the post-twelfth century legends about Virgil[1] — some of which, in fact, appear in the Heliodorus' narrative in embryonic form, such as the whole Aithalia episode (*VLB,* Chaps. **26-28**) — that are as extensive as Heliodorus'.

Certainly, there are earlier accounts of magicians or wonder-workers that are much more detailed than the narrative of Heliodorus — the lengthy *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, for one — but we must take into account the fact that in length and detail the Heliodorus narrative is an oddity in the general corpus of Byzantine hagiography: as Kazhdan and others have rightly noted, *VLB* (and *VLA*) is more about Heliodorus than it is about Leo.[2] Plain statistics concur with this conclusion: Chaps. **1, 4-8,** and **35-40** are devoted to Saint Leo who also shares Chaps. **30** and **32-34** of *VLB* with Heliodorus. More than half the *Vita* is allotted to Heliodorus on his own, that is, Chaps. **9-29** and **31**, despite the fact, which is very clear in the text, that the author is genuinely hostile to magic and to Heliodorus as a person. So Heliodorus' narrative is exceptional in that it gives the advantage to the adversary — the 'anti-hero' as Kazhdan would put it — of the narrative. Compared, for example, to Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, a text written not by an enemy of Apollonius but by one of his admiring followers, *VLB* is a curiosity because it is a source as rich in

---

[1] For these stories see SPARGO, *Necromancer*, and COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 239ff., and also now ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 825-890.

[2] See, for example, KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Literature*, p. 297: "The legend [i.e. of Heliodorus] ... is a remarkable original text, in which the anti-hero, the magician and sorcerer Heliodorus, overshadows the figure of the Saint Leo...".

information about non- or anti-Christian activities as a pro-pagan pro-wonder-worker text.

The uniqueness of Heliodorus' tale becomes more apparent if we compare it with similar stories of other magicians in Byzantine hagiography, who come across as rather shadowy presences. Their magical deeds (usually one or two in an entire *Vita*) set the stage for a spectacular miracle by a Saint, which eventually undoes the evil spell. This is the case, for example, with the magician Gourias[3] in the *Vita Ioannicii* by Peter, who appears as an opponent of St. Ioannicius. In attempting to drive the Saint away and secure the monopoly of "fame as a solitary anchorite" for himself, Gourias makes use of demons and then poison, but fails both times.[4]

Even the four instances of magic lore found in the edited parts of the tenth-century *Vita Basilii Iun.*,[5] do no escape the pattern described above: the first is the case of a slave called Theodore who is envied by his fellow-slaves because he is the servant their master trusted. In this story one of Theodore's fellow-slaves hires the services of a sorcerer, who makes Theodore critically ill, by means of four nails to which demons are bound by incantations. Saint Basil the Younger intervenes, finds the nails driven into the walls of a dark, locked room in Theodore's house and buries them deep in the ground, thus restoring Theodore to his previous state of health.[6] In the second story a rich eunuch, a friend of the Saint, loses his mind after his trusted maid-servant gives him a poison she has bought from a sorcerer. Eventually, his servants and relatives bring him to Saint Basil, who cures him with his prayers.[7] The third is much lengthier and involves the author of the *Vita Basilii* himself. In this story, the author becomes the victim of the magic spells of a powerful and vindictive witch whose sexual advances he has violently repelled. Taken sick to his bed,

---

[3] For this person, see *PBE*, entry "*Gourias* 1" and *PmbZ*, no. 2531.

[4] See *Vita Ioannicii* 20-22 (*AASS*, Nov. t. II.1, pp. 395A-396D) and for English translation and commentary, D. SULLIVAN, "The Life of St. Ioannikios", in TALBOT, *Byzantine defenders*, pp. 275-278.

[5] For the date of this text, which has not yet been fully edited see, among others, H. GRÉGOIRE and P. ORGELS, "L'invasion hongroise dans la 'Vie de Saint Basile le Jeune' ", *Byzantion* 24 (1954), pp. 147 and 156 and L. RYDÉN, "The *Life* of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the *Life* of St. Andreas Salos", in C. MANGO and O. PRITSAK (eds.), *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday* [Harvard Ukrainian Studies 7] (Cambridge MA, Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983), pp. 568-586. I wish to thank Prof. D. Sullivan for the references to this text and its bibliography.

[6] *Vita Basilii Iun.* (b) (ed. A. N. VESELOVSKIJ, pp. 52-54).

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.

the author develops a very high fever and sees an apocalyptic vision, in which he visits the underworld and is saved by Saint Basil, who kills an enormous mouse that has caused the illness.[8] Finally, in another segment of the *Vita*, St. Basil makes public the secret magical rites performed by a young witch, disguised as a nun, who makes love potions to ensnare young monks sexually.[9] Despite their length, the first two stories feature anonymous magicians as simple providers of magical services to private clients. In the other two stories, women use magic to revenge themselves on men or entrap them through sex.

Examples of such vignettes are abundant in Byzantine hagiography and there is no need to repeat any more of them here.[10] For the purpose of comparison, I will only mention that the Gourias episode in the *Vita Ioannicii* by Peter covers two columns in the *Acta Sanctorum* volume, while the passages from the *Vita Basilii Iun.* summarized above, add up to some fifteen printed pages out of a total of more than three hundred.[11] These five stories are, perhaps, the longest of all comparable episodes found in other hagiographies of every period.

If in this respect the narrative of Heliodorus is an exception to the established hagiographical patterns, then the origins of his story may lie somewhere else. As a matter of fact, his narrative is akin to the stories told by heresiologists such as Epiphanius of Salamis or Hippolytus about Manes, Carpocrates, Marcus and other early heretics.[12] The nearest parallel with Heliodorus is, in fact, the story of Simon Magus as it is presented in the apocryphal *Acta Petri* and in the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitiones*.[13] A closer look shows us that from a literary point of view

---

[8] *Vita Basilii Iun.* (a) (ed. S. G. VILINSKIJ, pp. 320-326).

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

[10] For more vignettes I refer the reader to the articles: MAGOULIAS, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints", pp. 228-269 and esp. pp. 242-245; D. ABRAHAMSE, "Magic and Sorcery in Byzantine Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period", *ByzF* 8 (1982), pp. 3-17 and esp. pp. 12-16.

[11] Note also that the printed pages account for less than half of the text preserved in fols. 2-378 of codex *Mosquensis Synod. Bibl.* 249 (Vladimir 402), see also FONKIČ – POLJAKOV, *Grecheskie rukopisei*, p. 132.

[12] It is also noteworthy that most of the magical exploits of Heliodorus have no parallel (or not exact parallel) in the numerous cases listed by D. OGDEN *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2002), some of which, though, resemble those found in the *Vita Basilii Iunioris*.

[13] For a summary of Simon's magic feats see FLINT, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 338-344 and also, LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", pp. 125-130, with further references to the primary sources.

it is the *Acta Petri* that provides *VLB*'s author with the original pattern of the confrontation between a Christian and a magician.[14] Other narrative sources for part of Heliodorus' "*vita*" are the famous "pact with the Devil" stories, which have been collected by Radermacher, particularly the narratives of *Proterius* (*BHG* 253-253a) and *Theophilus* (*BHG* 1319-1322) and, to a lesser extent, that of *Cyprianus et Iustina* (*BHG* 452-452b).[15] Finally, to these sources we may add a few spells found in the *Magical Papyri* but for this see below in Section 4b.

Another entirely different issue is that of finding a definition of magic/witchcraft that might adequately encompass the actions of Heliodorus. There have been numerous attempts at defining this social phenomenon, and one is always in danger of entering the gray area of non-scholarly pronouncements that, at worst, define non-verifiable practices and deeds and, at best, phenomena that today can possibly be classified under science, religion, psychological deception, or even plain illusion. Cautious modern scholars define magic in various ways: Karen Jolly, for example, has this to say:

> "Magic is more a concept than a reality. The term is a way of categorizing a wide array of beliefs and practices, ranging from astrology and alchemy, charms, and amulets, to sorcery and necromancy, trickery and entertainment, as practiced by both laity and clergy..."

According to Jolly, magic is a term applied to certain phenomena in a way that depends more on the perspective of the person (medieval or modern) using that label than on the nature of the phenomena themselves.[16] J. Flint takes a different direction in stating that:

> "Magic may be said to be the exercise of a preternatural control over nature by human beings, with the assistance of forces more powerful than they. This combination of human and superhuman power will sometimes employ strange instruments and is always liable to produce remarkable and unaccustomed results. Thus we may expect an element of the irrational and of the mysterious too, in a process that deserves to be called magical..." (*The Rise of Magic*, p. 1).

---

[14] See J. N. BREMMER, "Magic in the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*", in BREMMER and VEENSTRA, *The Metamorphosis of Magic*, pp. 62-69, for a thorough literary analysis of the part of the *Acta Petri* dealing with Simon.

[15] For more information on these stories and parallels with the *VLB* see the Commentary in the end and esp. Chaps. **10** and **11**.

[16] See JOLLY, "Medieval Magic", p. 3. Well informed and thoroughly scholarly treatments of the subject of defining magic and its relationship to demonology and heresy can also be found in the following publications: KORS and PETERS, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700*, pp. 1-40 esp. 1-22 and FLINT, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 1-12.

For the purposes of the present study, however, a narrower definition — appropriate to the reality of the period between the seventh and the eleventh centuries — seems more convenient and comprehensive. In the words of a sixteenth-century jurist, Jean Bodin: "Sorcier est celuy qui par moyens Diaboliques sciemment s'efforce de paruenir à quell que chose".[17] Along the same lines R. Kieckhefer, expounds that (emphasis added):

> "Broadly speaking, intellectuals in medieval Europe recognized two forms of magic: natural and demonic. Natural magic was not distinct from science, but rather a branch of science. It was the science that dealt with "occult virtues" (or hidden powers) within nature. Demonic magic was not distinct from religion, but rather *a perversion of religion*. It was religion that turned away from God and toward demons for their help in human affairs", (*Magic in the Middle Ages* [Cambridge Medieval Textbooks] (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1998), p. 9).

Similarly Kors and Peters give the same "working" definition and also imply that an act of "turning toward demons" (or the Devil himself) is an act of apostasy and idolatry:

> "The terms "diabolical sorcery" and "witchcraft" ... designate the behavior of someone, man or woman, who has acquired extraordinary powers to harm others through a pact, or agreement, with the Devil. Those humans who acquired knowledge or power without committing apostasy and idolatry, however, were technically not guilty of either offence". (*Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700*, p. 12).[18]

The last three definitions provide the framework within which I will examine Heliodorus as a magician.[19] Certainly, the "extraordinary powers acquired by individuals through a pact with the Devil" is more than obvious in Heliodorus' case, but the notion of magic as *a perversion of religion* that (in Kieckhefer's definition above) leads to apostasy and idolatry will also prove, as we shall see, extremely useful to the examination of Heliodorus' magic.

---

[17] J. BODIN, *De la démonomanie des sorciers* (Paris, 1580), I, cited by SUMMERS, *History of Witchcraft*, p. 1 and n. 1.

[18] The last three definitions are also in accordance with the views of early Christian theologians. Origen, for example, states in his *Contra Celsum* that the magicians are helped by evil spirits, which are in reality the gods and demons that are worshiped in pagan temples as gods and inspire the pagan oracles, see THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, pp. 442-443 for references. See also F. GRAF, "Theories of Magic in Antiquity", in P. MIRECKI and M. MEYER (eds.) *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* [Religions of the Greco-Roman World 141] (Leiden - Boston - Köln, Brill, 2002), pp. 95-104 and esp. 104.

[19] For a more generic review of other aspects and approaches to a definition of magic in the fields of Anthropology, Sociology, and other modern disciplines, see now E. SKOUTERI-DIDASKALOU, "Το στίγμα της 'Μαγείας', Περιδινήσεις ενός σημείου αναφοράς στην Ανθρωπολογική θεωρία", in CHRISTIDES and JORDAN, *Γλώσσα και Μαγεία*, pp. 11-43.

A third issue regarding Heliodorus and the presentation of his magic deeds is the following: as is obvious from the above and from the text of *VLB* itself,[20] the author is a typically Christian individual who may have had a good education, but in dealing with the world of magic and paganism proves as biased as any well-educated Byzantine. In short, our author — unlike Michael Psellus, who was more or less an expert "in various suspect or forbidden subjects (i.e. magic, horoscopes, and the like)" but denied any belief in them[21] — is not only inimically drawn towards magic, but seems ignorant of the rudiments of magical operation. As a result, the Heliodorus narrative in *VLB* is only an "imaginary eyewitness' account" of what the magician purportedly does. However, much of what the magician accomplishes has a counterpart or — if I may say so — a theoretical background in texts such as the recipes in the *Magical Papyri*.

Therefore, this part of the study is written under the guiding principle that the magic of Heliodorus is presented in a somewhat distorted/ abridged fashion as a result of the author's bias and ignorance or (better put) his incomplete knowledge of magic. The reader may find useful suggestions and connections to the *Magical Papyri* in the relevant parts of the Commentary that supplement the discussion that follows.

Finally, the present study assumes that magic in pre-eleventh century Christian times is no different in its outline than the magic practiced in the ancient world. However, while practices, practitioners, aims, and means may remain the same, the attitude towards magic changes radically. In general, magic is associated with demons; therefore it needs the theoretical background of a coherent demonology. But what changes from ancient to Christian times is precisely that attitude towards demons or *daimonia*. Since this topic has already been exhaustively treated by scores of scholars,[22] I will simply state the principal guidelines: Christian demonology, which was the result of the transformation of ancient Greek notions about demons (or *daimonia*) and deities and their fusion with Jewish ideas about Satan and its hosts, assumes that all these super-human entities are hostile to the plans of God and, motivated by envy, try to

---

[20] See, for example, the treatment of Empedocles and paganism in Chaps. 2-4.

[21] See J. DUFFY, "Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos", in MAGUIRE, *Byzantine Magic*, p. 88. In any case, both Psellus and Italicus were exceptional cases and as Duffy observes (*ibid.*, p. 95), neither of them would have been so open in later (and I would add in earlier) times.

[22] See, among others, E. R. DODDS, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety. Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1968), pp. 55, 124-126.

undermine the work of Christ and of His followers on earth. Needles to say, any positive aspect in the character of ancient Greek demons and deities is effaced, and those who call on them in any way are evildoers, magicians and the like, who aim at bringing evil to humanity.[23] On this premise we can easily understand the direct connection between idolatry, which is also condemned in *VLB*, and magic.

In the light of my last two methodological considerations, it is simple, for instance, to restore the original character of Heliodorus' pact with the Devil: for a Christian this was an act of submission to the Devil with the help of a piece of paper of unknown content waved in the air during midnight at a pagan cemetery, in exchange for the services of an assistant demon. On the other hand, for a pagan practitioner of the Pnouthis spell,[24] for example, the same deeds constituted an extremely elaborate rite, which involved a number of stages and required some *paraphernalia* (including letters written on sheets of deluxe paper), to secure the much sought-after services of an assistant demon, who might even be a deity. The only difference is that while for a pagan this is an act of positive value[25] for a Christian it is an utter abomination, the details of which are irrelevant or — if they are known — not worth mentioning.

---

[23] For an extensive analysis of this topic see V. I. J. FLINT, "The Demonisation of Magic and Sorcery in Late Antiquity: Christian Redefinitions of Pagan Religions", in ANKARLOO and CLARK, *Witchcraft and Magic*, pp. 277-348. For the possible survival of positive aspects of the ancient Greek *daimonia* in Christian angels see *ibid.*, pp. 326-328. For the historical record, it seems that this practice of transforming ancient (and pagan in general) gods into demons has its roots in the New Testament (1 Cor 10:20: ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν [τὰ ἔθνη], δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν, οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι), but is officially expressed for the first time by Tatian in his *Oratio ad Graecos* written between 166-171 AD (see Tatianus, *Oratio ad Graecos* 8.2.3-6: E. J. GOODSPEED [ed.], *Die ältesten Apologeten* [Göttingen, 1915], p. 274 and *passim*).

[24] One of many possible rites described in detail in the *Magical Papyri* to secure the services of an assistant (πάρεδρος) demon. For more see the Commentary, Chap. **10**. For the magical papyri, see W. M. BRASHEAR, "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994), in *ANRW*, II.18. 5. (1995), pp. 3495-3496.

[25] From this point of view see now the thorough analysis, (which even postulates pagan soteriological implications in the acquisition of a *parhedros* demon), by A. SCIBILA, "Supernatural Assistance in the Greek Magical Papyri, the Figure of the Parhedros" in BREMMER and VEENSTRA, *The Metamorphosis of Magic*, p. 71-86.

4b) The Making, the Naming, and the Deeds of a Magician

Heliodorus is presented in *VLB* as a villain from the first lines in which he is mentioned. We are told that he is a second Simon, Iannes or Iambres and an agent of Satan, and only then do we learn his name. The villainous character of Heliodorus is further suggested by the terms the author uses to describe the person and his activities throughout *VLB*. Interestingly enough, the author is extremely inventive when it comes to the terminology for magic activities but less so with regard to the terminology used to describe the agent of these magic deeds. Heliodorus is termed μάγος three times,[26] γόης another three times[27] and τερατοποιός only once.[28] This is a rather poor figure compared to fifty various references to magic activities/deeds/results that make use of no less than twenty different terms, which in *VLB* are sometimes modified by enhancing qualifying adjectives.[29]

There is nothing novel about the terms μάγος and γόης: they were already known during the Classical period and are even used together in Plato's works. Despite some subtle semantic differences, both signify the sorcerer.[30] The third term *VLB* employs, τερατοποιός (wonder-worker), is a little more puzzling because it is very rare, and because in the *Septuagint*, where it occurs twice (Mac II 15:21 and Mac III 6:32), it is applied to God "the savior and wonder-worker." The only explanation I can offer is that the author was making an attempt to be original and inventive here, or perhaps wanted to stress the belief-defying character[31] of Heliodorus'

---

[26] *VLB* Chaps. **9**.4, **17**.8, and **27**.2.

[27] *VLB* Chaps. **17**.8, **26**.22, and **27**.2

[28] *VLB* Chap. **17**.8.

[29] Here is an exhaustive list of all these terms: ἀπάτη φαντασιώδης (**30**.11-12); γοητεία (**10**.3, **12**.5, **13**.9, **17**.9, **23**.1, **27**.16, **34**.14); δεινότης (**15**.10), (διαβολικῆς δολιότητος: **15**.1), (μαγικῆς κακουργίας: **31**.14); ἐνέργεια (τοῦ Σατανᾶ: **9**.5), (κακομήχανος: **13**.11), (γοητική: **17**.12-13), (δαιμονιώδης: **26**.15-16), (ἐναντία: **33**.14); ἐξαπάτη (**32**.4); ἐπαοιδία (**9**.3, **29**.7, **30**.15), (γοητική: **26**.20); ἐπήρεια (**16**.1); ἐπιτήδευμα (πονηρίας: **17**.11); ἐπιτήδευσις (γοητική: **13**.14); κακομηχανία (μαγική: **26**.22); κακοδαιμονία (μαγική: **32**.4); κακουργία (**16**.13) (τοῦ Σατανᾶ: **9**.5), (μαγική: **31**.14); μαγεία (**10**.3, **17**.10, **34**.9-10); μαγγανεία (**9**.3, **13**.9, **14**.5, **17**.9, **26**.15, **31**.2), (κακομήχανος: **26**.4), (σατανική: **32**.6-7, **34**.13-14); περιεργία (**12**.5, **22**.7, **28**.1); ῥᾳδιουργία (**15**.13, **16**.12); τέρας (δαιμόνιον: **21**.7-8); τεράστιον (**23**.1); τερατεία (**32**.7); φαντασία (σατανική: **28**.7).

[30] For more about these two terms see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 20-30 and *passim*.

[31] See also Commentary on Chap. **9**.2, and esp. the last part of my analysis of the term τέρας.

deeds. For the record, in *VLB* this term occurs only in the letter that the eparch Lucius sends to the emperors in Constantinople.

On the other hand, the variety of terms that denote magic operation, activity, etc., is impressive. Despite the total absence of a term as common as φαρμακὸς and φαρμακεία the terminology employed in *VLB* has no parallel in similar texts. A plausible explanation of this phenomenon is a possible tendency on the part of the author to show off, since alongside "technical" terms such as μαγεία, μαγγανεία, γοητεία and περιεργία we see less common words, such as ἐπαοιδία, ἐξαπάτη, and κακοδαιμονία. Some of the terms employed in *VLB* also suggest strongly the fraudulent character of a number of Heliodorus' wonders (ἀπάτη φαντασιώδης, φαντασία σατανική, τεράστιον and τερατεία, and also μαγγανεία), which further imply that Heliodorus was a plain charlatan.[32] We have seen that the author may have borrowed a few of these terms from the *Onomasticon* of Julius Pollux.[33] He may also have appropriated a number of terms for Heliodorus that were used by earlier Ecclesiastical authors for Simon Magus.[34] The obvious conclusion is that the author's primary concern was to use the most varied terminology possible to describe the deeds of Heliodorus, presumably in a desire to present him in the darkest possible linguistic terms.

As for what we learn about Heliodorus himself, we know nothing of his father — only that his mother, Barbara, happened to be a Christian. Presumably, therefore, Heliodorus was brought up as a Christian. Because of his arrogant and cruel character, however, he became unpopular and for this reason lost his ambitious bid for the office of the eparch of the city.[35] Driven by a desire for revenge and, possibly, by greed[36] he con-

---

[32] For sorcerers as charlatans see LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", pp. 103-106, for a detailed explanation of some of the terms also employed in *VLB* see *ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

[33] See above p. 42-43.

[34] See for example the opening paragraphs on Simon Magus from the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis: Σίμωνος γίνεται τοῦ μάγου πρώτη αἵρεσις. ... οὗτος ὁ Σίμων γόης ἦν, ... ἐφαντασίαζε δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ταῖς μαγείαις ἐξαπατῶν τε καὶ δελεάζων, ἔλεγεν δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκέναι ... τῆς μοχθηρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἐκτὸς βαίνων οὐδαμῶς, προσέφερε χρήματα Πέτρῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ... Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν πεπονηρευμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ μαγείᾳ δαιμονιώδους πλάνης καὶ πεφαντασιωμένην, πρόχειρος ὢν ἀεὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας τὰ βαρβαρικὰ καὶ δαιμονίων πράγματα διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μαγγανείας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ... δηλητήριον τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγρευθεῖσιν εἰς τὴν κακομήχανον αὐτοῦ πλάνην παρενθεὶς τῷ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀξιώματι Χριστοῦ θάνατον ἐνεποίησεν τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 1, p. 238.3-240.6). Compare the underlined words to the terms listed above in n. 29.

[35] *VLB*, Chap. 9. For the significance of this office see GUILLAND, "L'éparque", p. 17: "L'éparque de la Ville était «le plus grand dans la ville après le basileus» et la loi déclarait:

tacted a Jewish sorcerer. The sorcerer instructed him to take a piece of written paper and go to the pagan cemetery at midnight. There, standing on a pillar he followed the instructions to hold up the piece of paper and wait.[37] When this was done, Heliodorus saw the Devil riding on a stag and after a brief discussion renounced Christ. In return, the Devil gave him an assistant (πάρεδρος) demon. From that point on, Heliodorus became a magician. This review of the main points of Heliodorus' early life gives us a basic outline of a number of traits that are common to the lives of magicians.

Kazhdan has already observed that Heliodorus' activity both "smacks of parody" and "is formed of patches of hagiographical tradition, turned upside down and given opposite meanings".[38] Although his pronouncement is correct within the framework of a plain literary analysis, its validity goes beyond Kazhdan's statement and its implications are present in almost all existing details of Heliodorus' *curriculum vitae*. Our author may be ignorant of or avoid any theory of magic, but he is very good at smearing everything Heliodoresque with a veneer of inversion. Crucial to this view of Heliodorus is the assumption that he is one of the forerunners of the Antichrist.[39] As such, all that he is and all that he does, is the opposite of what a normal Christian might be and do.

It is no accident, therefore, that the first thing that we learn about him is the name of his mother — Barbara — rather than the name of his father *and* his mother as is usual in the case of Saints and ordinary people. In the earlier world of magic in late antiquity, which does not seem to differ at all from Leo's and Heliodorus' world, and more specifically in the world of *defixiones*,[40] the victims and sometimes the sorcerer are defined in this way. According to Graf, "the use of the mother's name, the reverse of the common practice in institutions is yet another instance of the series

«Que toutes les corporations, que tous les citoyens, que le peuple entier soient gouvernés par l'éparque de la Ville»".

[36] Cf. LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", p. 104: "According to André Bernand's thesis, the sorcerer is motivated exclusively by envy or jealousy (*phthonos*). In my opinion, the sorcerer is also motivated by greed and by his desire to gain prestige and status".

[37] *VLB*, Chap. **10**.

[38] See KAZHDAN, *Byzantine Literature*, pp. 300 and 301.

[39] *VLB*, Chap. **14**.1.

[40] *Defixiones* are the rites of binding, instructions for which or even practical binding curses, spells, and texts have been abundantly preserved. The purpose of a *defixio* was to "bind" and thus impair, in one way or another, an individual. For more see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 118-170 and *passim*.

of reversals characteristic in magic".[41] In the case of Heliodorus, the plethora of reversals that are bound to follow this first one may make this part of the study tedious but it is worth the trouble to investigate the inventiveness of *VLB*'s author in yet another area.

The social behavior of Heliodorus is the next reversed image of Christian ideals: instead of generating sentiments of love and goodwill, his attitude makes people hate him. As a result he fails in his attempt to secure the office of eparch of the city. His need for revenge brings him to the home of the Jewish magician, who instructs him in the details of a rite that would conjure up a demonic assistant to help him with all his plans. After carrying out the Jew's instruction, Heliodorus strikes a pact with the Devil and obtains an assistant demon, thus becoming a magician.

The pact with the Devil bears a remarkable resemblance to the relevant parts in the stories of *Theophilus*, *Proterius*, and *Cyprian*,[42] but *VLB* is a little richer in details than these narratives. There is no doubt that here we have a typical rite of initiation, the roots of which go back to ancient Greek and Roman times.[43] Although *VLB* has no pagan setting and the parties in the rite have been modified to fit Christian terminology and circumstances, the bits and pieces in the sequence of events described in Chaps. **11-12** are probably a poor rendering of the rite described in the Pnouthis spell preserved in the *Greek Magical Papyri* (*PGM*).[44] So, in broad terms, the pact with the Devil — being an initiation rite — can be considered as a Christian definition that covers any spell, particularly that of Pnouthis, which in the *PGM* conjures up an assistant (*parhedros*/πά-ρεδρος) demon. This rite, as presented in *VLB*, bears significant inverted

---

[41] GRAF, *ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

[42] See Commentary **10**.3-**12**.10, and **11**.10-13.

[43] For the rite of obtaining a *parhedros* demon as an initiation rite that "introduces the sorcerer to the domain of divinity", and further discussion see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 105-117.

[44] For information on the Pnouthis spell preserved in the *PGM* (I 1-347 and esp. 69-130, 172-192) and a detailed list of parallels between *VLB* and the spell see Commentary, **10**.7-15, **10**.12-13, **11**.3, **12**.3, **12**.4-6. Here we have a case in which the practitioner (Heliodorus), through a number of "ritualistic" steps (i.e. ascending a pillar in a pagan cemetery at midnight, waving a piece of paper in the air, renouncing Christ, etc.) persuades the Devil, leader of the demons, to grant him a follower (Gaspar), who will obey his (Heliodorus') every command. This is one of the innumerable rites for gaining control of a demon (and rather a sketchy one at that), but for a sweeping overview of these rites see GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief*, pp. 252-260 (for inducement), and pp. 260-285 (for coercion). For an analysis of the Pnouthis spell and detailed bibliography see BRASHEAR (as in n. 24), "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey", pp. 3495-3496 and 3507-3509.

parallels to the Christian rite or sacrament (*mysterion*) of the baptism:[45] First, in terms of vocabulary the author presents Heliodorus' pact with the Devil through antonyms of words used in Christian baptism: Heliodorus descends the pillar and allies himself with the Devil. The Greek text here reads καὶ συντάσσεται τῷ διαβόλῳ. The verb that is used is the exact opposite to the verb employed during the course of the sacrament of the Christian baptism (ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ).[46] Then, in terms of ritual practice, the time (midnight) and the place (a pagan cemetery) in which the incident takes place are the opposite of any permitted location (a church) and time (daylight) for most Christian sacraments, especially baptism.[47] Heliodorus' ascent to the top of the pillar, which brings him closer to the air/sky and the realm of demons,[48] is the antithesis of the triple descent of a baptized person into the water.[49] And, of course, the conclusion of this rite comes with what constitutes a negative parallel with the granting of the grace of the Holy Spirit to the person baptized,[50] namely, the assignment of an assistant demon to serve Heliodorus. From

---

[45] That the Pnouthis spell is also considered by its practitioners a *mysterion* see H. D. BETZ, "Magic and Mystery in the Greek Magical Papyri", in Ch. A. FARAONE and D. OBBINK (eds.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford, Oxford UP, 1991), pp. 251-252.

[46] Cf. P. N. TREMPELAS, *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1950), pp. 344-345: ἀποτάσσῃ τῷ Σατανᾷ. Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ... Ἀπετάξω τῷ Σατανᾷ; Ἀπεταξάμην... καὶ συντάσσομαι Χριστῷ. It is noteworthy also that even the introductory dialogue between Heliodorus and the Devil conforms to this pattern of reversing words and deeds: In *VLB* Heliodorus asks a favor from the Devil using the same words the angel employs in the Annunciation to inform the Virgin Mary about her conception (Luc 1:30; *VLB*, Chap. **11**.7-8, see also Commentary, **11**.7-8).

[47] Cf. Hippolytus' insistence in his account of the rite of the baptism, which is the earliest one, "that the first prayer said over the baptismal water be said at cock-crow, the moment when, by tradition the demons of darkness flee..." (cited by FLINT, "The Demonisation of Magic..." p. 335, who gives as a reference for this excerpt *The Apostolic Tradition* 21, which I have been unable to verify).

[48] For the heavens as the abode of demons, (both the pagan ones and their Christian successors) see FLINT, *art. cit.*, pp. 283, and 297, and also C. MANGO, "Diabolus Byzantinus", *DOP* 46 (1992), p. 215.

[49] Kazhdan (*Byzantine Literature*, p. 301) found the detail of Heliodorus' ascent to the pillar "an image reminiscent of the figure of a holy stylite", which *per se* doesn't seem implausible, but examined in conjunction with all the other elements of this rite it becomes an observation of minor importance. A comment similar to that of Kazhdan can also be found in AUZÉPY, "L'analyse littéraire", pp. 64-65.

[50] For this, see among many, Gregorius Nyssenus, *De instituto Christiano* (ed. W. JAEGER, p. 44.14-27).

the ecclesiastical point of view this rite in itself was an act of apostasy.[51] Inevitably, it follows that whatever Heliodorus sets out to do with the help of his assistant demon is the opposite of what a baptized Christian would accomplish with the help of the Holy Spirit. At the very least, every act of Heliodorus from then on is tainted by the evil spirit and impious intention of a Devil's associate.

Interestingly enough, however, the subversive actions of Heliodorus do not simply "smack of parody" with regard to hagiographical *topoi*, as Auzépy and Kazhdan have suggested. We have already shown that Heliodorus' acts contribute to the total disruption of the social, economic, and even moral life of Catania. The most interesting aspect of these disruptive activities is that they violate a number of social norms and laws, the implementation and protection of which would have rested with the eparch of the city. More specifically, among the many responsibilities of an eparch was his obligation to judge cases "des affaires de moralité publique".[52] Heliodorus is presented in *LL* as an instigator of immoral acts, but the specific instances of his deeds that impinge on this domain are, firstly, his act of creating the illusion of a river which drives Catanian women to lift their tunics up to their thighs,[53] secondly, his inciting a frenzy of lust among the daughters of the people of Catania that makes them promiscuous,[54] and, thirdly, his irreverent behavior in the Church at a time when St. Leo was officiating.[55]

Another major part of an eparch's duties was to regulate the economic life of the city and ensure that all commercial transactions went smoothly.[56] Heliodorus, by transmuting base materials into precious ones and using them for his own gain, disrupts Catanian life and brings it to a standstill, so that the people — suspicious of this kind of fraud — abstain from any commercial exchange, and are reduced to poverty.[57]

All in all, it seems that no aspect of the eparch's office is left unaffected by Heliodorus: the eparch is the "supervisor" of spectacles and also plays an important role in the Hippodrome, especially on the days of

---

[51] As is also stressed in Chapter **13**. For more, especially concerning the death of Heliodorus as a result of this act of apostasy, see Commentary, **34**.14-15.

[52] GUILLAND, "L'éparque", p. 19.

[53] *VLB*, Chap. **14**.

[54] *Ibid.*, Chap. **15**.13-18.

[55] *Ibid.*, Chap. **33**, where Heliodorus behaves like a mule and uses also obscene language.

[56] For the extent of this capacity see again GUILLAND, "L'éparque", pp. 20-21.

[57] *VLB*, Chap. **15**.1-12.

the races.[58] Heliodorus not only compromises the athletic integrity of a horse-race by conjuring up a swift stallion that wins by supernatural means but also gets rid of the eparch's "police"[59] by bribing them with a counterfeit piece of gold.[60] Other deeds of Heliodorus seem to be less directly related to the eparch's prerogatives, but it is noteworthy that, at a time when the eparch is responsible for the policing of the seashore, Heliodorus manages to draw a boat on the sand, make it materialize and sail off to Constantinople. The procedures described in this part of *VLB* (arranging the sailors and passengers in the boat and, especially, loading the provisions), may also have been duties of one of the eparch's assistants, the παραθαλασσίτης.[61] Heliodorus also extinguished the fire from Constantinople as if in ironic defiance (or rivalry?) of the eparch's responsibility for preventing and extinguishing fires in the city.[62] Even the bathhouses in Catania and Constantinople, which are used by Heliodorus as "terminals" of his first magic trip to Constantinople may in one way or another be under the supervision of the eparch.[63]

The nature of Heliodorus' behavior, if we leave aside those acts of his that subvert the duties of the eparch, can easily be explained as a practical application of the *parhedros* demon's powers to help its new master. From the various examples I have listed in the Commentary, I cite just one: in Chap. **16** the Catanian "police" are looking for Heliodorus, but find that his house has been swept bare and clean and that Heliodorus himself has vanished. The Pnouthis spell claims that the *parhedros* demon "causes invisibility so that no one can see you [i.e. the demon's master] at all".[64]

---

[58] GUILLAND, "L'éparque", pp. 19 and 21.

[59] For these soldiers entrusted with the preservation of order in the city, who were called ταξεῶται see GUILLAND, "L'éparque", p. 20 and also Commentary, **16**.4.

[60] *VLB*, Chaps. **29-31**.

[61] See *VLB*, Chap. **25**, for the incident and GUILLAND, "L'éparque", p. 26: the eparch's office also included an "inspecteur maritime qui était chargé de contrôler l'entrée et la sortie des navires. Il examinait les marchandises exportées et importées..."

[62] *VLB*, Chaps. **26-28** and GUILLAND, "L'éparque", p. 20 for the responsibilities of the eparch in extinguishing fires.

[63] At least in Rome, the supervision of the baths was the domain of the *curatores thermarum*, who were under the jurisdiction of the *praefectus urbi*, that is, the eparch. See KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. IV, p. 448, n. 12. The magic performed by Heliodorus in the bath seems to be another reversal of the baptismal rite but only to the extent of some external characteristics i.e. submersion of individuals in water and prohibition to utter Christ's name.

[64] See BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 6 || *PGM* I, l. 102. For more see Commentary, **20**.6-7, **25**.3-10, **27**.13-15, **29**.8-12, cf. also the final comment of Chap. **31**.

In conclusion, Heliodorus might have been one of the apostates, an initiate in magic rites, and a precursor of the Antichrist, but most of his magic tricks make him look more like an anti-eparch than anything else. If this is so, the magician in *VLB* appears as a major threat primarily to social order and prosperity and his dangerous influence in matters of faith and moral conduct is secondary. Even the author of *VLB* implicitly recognizes the non-religious character of most of Heliodorus' actions and describes his death as the result of his *eventual* assault on the Church.[65] This assault comes at the end of the Heliodorus sequence in *VLB* in Chap. **33** and it is this final mistake that prompts Leo's intervention and leads to the magician's death by fire.[66]

And here we observe another interesting paradox: it is Heliodorus, like Simon Magus, who is interested in human glory, social recognition, and in the advantages of the material world.[67] He ends up disrupting social and religious life. Leo, on the other hand, who has renounced all these, upholds social order, religious orthodoxy and morality, and, in fact, eventually restores the eparch's authority which Heliodorus has defied. This, however, is neither new nor exclusively appropriate to "Iconoclast" Saints, as M.-F. Auzépy has noted.[68] Kazhdan also observed this polarity between miracle and magic stressing that the "saint rescues, feeds, and comforts people, creates good and teaches how the Christian must comport himself or herself",[69] while the magician and his "unholy magic

---

[65] To be precise, however, there is also a vague reference to Heliodorus' anti-religious activity in the letter of the eparch Lucius to the emperors (Chap. **17**.22-23), accusing him of persuading simple people to worship idols and another equally vague reference claiming that he "attacked the church" (Chap. **18**.3).

[66] See also the conclusion of Chap. **32**: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀναιδείας καὶ ἀσεβείας εἰς ἄκρον ἤλασεν, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ κατατολμῆσαι διαπαίζειν καὶ χλευάζειν τὰ φρίκης ἄξια μεγάλα μυστήρια.

[67] See also above p. 95, n. 34.

[68] AUZÉPY, "L'analyse littérairc...", pp. 60-61.

[69] See KAZHDAN, "Holy and unholy", p. 77. Kazhdan in this part analyzes the *Life of Leo*. That the distinction between magic and miracle had always been a crux in Byzantine secular or canon law is thoroughly explained by M. Th. FÖGEN in "Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law", in MAGUIRE, *Byzantine Magic*, pp. 105-109. Interesting, and rather optimistic, however, is her statement that: "In conclusion, one can say that as soon as the canonists took over the problem of magic, sorcery, and divination, this problem became more and more "domesticated". From the fourth to the fourteenth century the initial excitement and chaos, which the secular power first provoked and then did not get under control, gradually gave way to a professional handling which ended in a matter of routine. Canon law and its experts, step by step, by description and distinctions, transformed a home-made political confusion into the normality of religious discipline. For magicians, their clients,

causes death, confusion, sexual misbehavior..."[70] The case of Heliodorus versus Leo conforms to this evaluation, but all this is just another commonplace as far as the nature of and the difference between miracle and magic, Saint and magician, and their social role since early Christian times are concerned — in the second spurious homily attributed to the first-century theologian Clemens of Rome we find the same assessment succinctly stated as a critique of Simon Magus:

> "... evil, as if it were the ruler, hastened to send first its own ally like a snake, an ally whom you see in the person of Simon, who performs wonders to amaze and defraud [people], not healing signs aiming at the repentance and salvation [of the people]. For this reason, you should also discern the agents and their masters from their deeds: if someone performs useless wonders, he is the servant of evil, if he performs beneficial miracles he is the master of good."[71]

It becomes obvious that Heliodorus is, in the end, one more link in the chain of magicians who, motivated by greed and a desire to gain prestige and status, tried to fulfill their needs in any way and at any cost. For Christianity that chain started with Simon Magus. And this brings us to the next part of this Introduction.

---

and their judges, the world thereby became more calculable, less complex, and easier to understand" (*ibid.*, p. 115). Unfortunately, for Heliodorus this development came too late.

[70] KAZHDAN, "Holy and unholy", p. 78.

[71] See Clemens Romanus, *Homiliae* [sp.] 2.33.4.2-2.34.3.1: ἡ κακία πάλιν, ὡς αὐτὴ βασιλεύουσα, προλαβοῦσα πρῶτον τὸν ἑαυτῆς ὥσπερ ὄφιν ἔπεμψε σύμμαχον, ὃν ὁρᾶτε Σίμωνα, ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ ἀπάτην, οὐ σημεῖα ἰατικὰ πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ |2.33.5| σωτηρίαν. διὸ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γινομένων τεράτων τοὺς ποιοῦντας νοεῖν δεῖ τίς τίνος ἐστὶν ἐργάτης. ἐὰν ἀνωφελῆ ποιῇ τέρατα, κακίας ἐστὶν |2.34.1| ὑπουργός· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπωφελῆ πράττῃ, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐστιν ἡγεμών (ed. B. REHM, et al., pp. 27-28). In continuation the passage also gives a number of examples of useless wonders performed by Simon (making statues walk, walking on burning embers, transforming himself into a snake or a goat, flying in the air, etc.) which in reality are not that different from Heliodorus' magic tricks: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνωφελῆ ἐστιν σημεῖα, ὅσα αὐτοὶ Σίμωνα εἰρήκατε πεποιηκέναι. |2.34.2| λέγω δὲ τὸ ἀνδριάντας αὐτὸν ποιεῖν περιπατεῖν καὶ τὸ ἐπ' ἀνθράκων αὐτὸν πεπυρωμένων κυλίεσθαι καὶ δράκοντα γίνεσθαι, εἰς αἶγα μεταμορφωθῆναι, εἰς ἀέρα πτῆναι, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτά τινα, εἰς ἴασιν ἀνθρώπων μὴ γινόμενα, προσαπατᾶν φύσιν ἔχει πολλούς. τὰ δὲ τῆς οἰκτίρμονος ἀληθείας σημεῖά ἐστι φιλάνθρωπα, ἅτινα ἠκούσατε τὸν κύριον πεποιηκότα... (*ibid.*, p. 28). However, see KAZHDAN, "Holy and Unholy", p. 79 for an exception to this rule found in the little known *Vita* and martyrdom of St. Paul's disciples Jason and Sosipater (*BHG* 776). There, the pagan magician is the one who performs socially beneficial deeds and the Christian Saints are the ones that destroy a building and kill the magician. This, however, seems to be a very rare exception. For a discussion of this passage see also THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, p. 417.

4c) Heliodorus, Paganism, and Christian Heresy

Pagans and Christian heretics are antecedents in a line of tradition to which Heliodorus belongs as well. And it is this line of tradition that the author of *VLB* symbolically refers to when in Chap. 4 he introduces Empedocles as a classical example of an individual "deceived by demons". It is also to Empedocles and all stories from the pagan past that our author juxtaposes the narrative of Leo as an example of true Christian wisdom and piety. This introduction sets the tone not only for the character of Leo but also gives us a precursor of Heliodorus, and, on a different level, carefully presages Heliodorus' death by fire.[72] But as already noted, the pagan Empedocles is a predecessor of Heliodorus, as are the Biblical sorcerers Iannes, Iambres, and the heretic Simon the Magus. There are no doubts about the identity of the last three as sorcerers because this is solidly established in the Old and New Testament and in numerous other sources. However, there has been some dispute among modern scholars regarding Empedocles, a dispute that recently appears to have been resolved conclusively by P. Kingsley: despite centuries of Aristotelian and post-Aristotelian whitewashing, suppression, misrepresentation and/or misinterpretation of the works of Empedocles, there is no doubt that he too was a magician who promised to endow one of his disciples not only with the power to quell the winds but also to unleash storms and "fetch back from Hades the life-force of a man who has died".[73] Kingsley extensively analyzes the particular attributes that made Empedocles a magician[74] and makes clear that it is Aristotle and his successors who have given us this purified version of Empedocles-the-philosopher that suppresses the facet

[72] *VLB*, Chap. 4. For the relationship between the narrative of Empedocles' death and the death of Heliodorus see above pp. 34 and 35 and note 106.

[73] This is the last line from Empedoclean fragment 111 of Diels' edition: H. DIELS, and W. KRANZ, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1 (Berlin, Weidmann, 1951^{6}, repr. Dublin – Zurich, 1966), p. 354. For another similar pronouncement about Empedocles see LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", p. 118 (the term employed here is *shaman* "... more neutral than *magos* or *thaumaturge* or 'sorcerer'...").

[74] KINGSLEY, *Ancient Philosophy*, pp. 217-227 and *passim*. More cautious than Kingsley is J. BRAARVIG, "Magic: Reconsidering the Grand Dichotomy", in D. R. JORDAN et al., *The World of Ancient Magic* [Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4] (Bergen, 1999), pp. 31-35: Empedocles was perceived as a magician by others, but still "magic", according to this author, was "at most only part of [Empedocles'] self-perception". The author, finally, concedes that "like Paracelsus, Ficino and the Renaissance magicians, Empedocles appears to us as a paradox: both scientific and magical, both logical and mythical ... and important figure for the study of magic, since he indeed presents a border case". Similar statements can also be found in DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 32-33.

of Empedocles-the-magician.[75] What is interesting in *VLB* is that Empedocles *is* considered a magician and implicitly presented as the "spiritual" forefather of *VLB*'s anti-hero, the medieval magician Heliodorus. The difference between Aristotle and the author of *VLB* is that, whereas Aristotle simply suppressed the irrational aspects of Empedocles' teachings, our author makes his hero Leo — a pure Christian who might have also passed as the Aristotelian man of virtue[76] — burn to death Heliodorus, the spiritual descendant of Empedocles in Christian times.

So, right from the beginning, *VLB* gives us the "magic" genealogy of Heliodorus by implicitly and explicitly connecting him to Empedocles, Iannes, Iambres, and Simon the Magus. This (at first sight) uncritical gathering of all elements — pagan, Old Testament and heretic — in the camp of anti-Christian operatives may seem a little surprising, but it does not take long to realize that these were distinctions that did not matter much to Christians. Besides, an author as early as Hippolytus made a connection between Empedocles and Simon the Magus.[77] Moreover, Epiphanius in his *Panarion* neatly categorized all belief systems into four major categories and included under the term "heresy" a number of pre-Christian belief systems as well, including paganism and Greek philosophical schools.

In Epiphanius' list of heresies the first purely Christian heresy is that of Simon the Magus and his followers.[78] This Simon is not only the archetypal magician but also the archetypal heretic in Christian tradition. The same spirit even seems to permeate the works of more recent writers, such as the twentieth-century author Montague Summers, who in his *History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, sees fit to examine heresy as the real bedrock of magic. The first Chapter of his book, for example, is entitled "The Witch: Heretic and Anarchist",[79] and the entire work develops around the notion that Gnosticism and its initiator (sic) Simon Magus are responsible for the continuation of magic in Christian times.

---

[75] DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 4-5, 346-347, 360.

[76] For the Aristotelian qualities of Leo's virtues see Commentary, 4.28-31.

[77] Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 6.11.1.1-10 (ed. M. MARCOVICH, p. 217), and ANNE WILSON, *Water of Life*, p. 54. For more on Simon and bibliography see Commentary 13.15-19.

[78] See the summary of Epiphanius' categorization of heresies in his *Panarion* (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 1, pp. 156ff.).

[79] SUMMERS, *History of Witchcraft*, pp. 1-50 and esp. pp. 20ff.

There is no need, however, to expand further on these ideas. I have simply presented a very rough outline as an introduction to more concrete examples from the heresiological sources that show a number of parallels between early heretics and Heliodorus. To start with, the assistant demon (πάρεδρος δαίμων) is also present in the cultic practices of Simon the Magus' followers who were as addicted to magic as their founder.[80] Epiphanius directly accuses Carpocrates and his Gnostic sect, the Carpocratians, of practicing witchcraft, magic, and idolatry, and of using assistant demons to achieve their aims.[81] Another heresiarch, again of Gnostic extraction, also accused by Epiphanius (and Irenaeus, whom Epiphanius quotes) of using the services of a πάρεδρος δαίμων, is Marcus and his followers, the Marcosians. Epiphanius assigns to him magic deeds by means of which he deceives those who become his followers. In one such story of magic deception Marcus manages to fill a very large glass to the brim with liquid contained in a much smaller glass. In terms of deceptive means and methods, this approaches the wonder that enabled Heliodorus to escape from Constantinople by drinking incessantly from a bottle of water, before finally disappearing into it.[82] Marcus is also termed the forerunner of Antichrist and uses his πάρεδρος δαίμων to predict the future.[83] Both Irenaeus and Epiphanius also hurled vague accusations at

---

[80] See Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.16.3.1-6: Οἱ οὖν τούτου μαθηταὶ μαγείαις ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ ἐπαοιδαῖς· φίλτρα τε καὶ ἀγώγιμα καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ὀνειροπόμπους δαίμονας ἐπιπέμπουσι πρὸς τὸ ταράσσειν οὓς βούλονται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέδρους τοὺς λεγομένους ἀσκοῦσιν. [Παρέδρους καὶ ὀνειροπόμπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ περίεργα ὅσα ἐμμελῶς ἀσκοῦσιν.] (ed. W. W. HARVEY, p. 194). For Simon the Magus, see also THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, pp. 400-425.

[81] See Epiphanius, *Panarion* (and note the underlined terms that also occur in *VLB*): Ἐπιχειροῦσι δὲ οἱ τῆς ἀθεμίτου ταύτης σχολῆς παντοίας ἐπιχειρήσεις δεινῶν ἔργων καὶ ὀλετηρίων. μαγεῖαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπινενόηνται, ἐπῳδάς τε διαφόρους πρὸς πᾶσαν μηχανὴν ἐφηύραντο, [πρὸς] φίλτρα τε καὶ ἀγώγιμα. οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέδρους δαίμονας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισπῶνται, εἰς τὸ διὰ πολλῆς μαγγανείας ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μεγάλῃ πάντων γενέσθαι, ὥστε, φησί, κυριεύειν ὧν τε ἂν ἐθέλοι ἕκαστος καὶ ᾗ πράξει ἐπιχειρεῖν τολμήσειε... (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 1, p. 303.13-19). Epiphanius' complaint that they also have adopted the appellation "Christians" resembles *VLB*'s comment about Heliodorus purportedly being a Christian: εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Σατανᾶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ προβεβλημένοι εἰς ὄνειδος καὶ σκάνδαλον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας. ἐπέθεντο γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπίκλην Χριστιανοί... (*ibid.*, pp. 303.25-304.2). For the Carpocratians see H. LIBORON, *Die karpokratianische Gnosis* (Leipzig, 1938), and also A. POURKIER, *L'hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine* [Christianisme antique 4] (Paris, Beauchesne, 1992), pp. 505-506 for bibliography.

[82] *VLB*, Chap. **22**.

[83] For more details and the textual reference that contains a number of expressions parallel to those in *VLB* see Commentary, **14**.1. For the Simonians, Marcus and Carpocrates see also, THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, pp. 368-372.

other Gnostics, such as Saturninus, Basilides, and Manes, of using spells, divination, incantations and all sorts of curious practices.[84]

In conclusion, I would suggest that from the *VLB* author's point of view Heliodorus is an impersonator of all the vices that most of the Church fathers imputed on heretics particularly ones that smacked of Gnosticism. Our author, however, explicitly calls Heliodorus an apostate but never a heretic. Yet, judging from the harshness of the punishments provided for apostates and Manichaeans in legal texts such as the eighth-century *Ecloga* and later texts, both the Church and the State did not recognize any substantial difference between Gnosticism and apostasy. Even the later ecclesiastic George Scholarius (the first Patriarch of Constantinople after 1453) openly approved of putting to death a certain monk called Juvenalius for being an apostate. Scholarius' rationale was that apostasy may contain a form of dissent from Christianity that is infinitely worse than heresy or loss of faith.[85]

4d) Some Speculation on the Origin of Heliodorus' Stories.

Scattered here and there in various sources are a few other personalities from late antiquity and middle Byzantine times that present some affinity with Heliodorus: I leave aside people like Alexander of Abonoteichus, who is plainly presented by Lucian as a charlatan preying on the credulity of the Paphlagonians.[86] However, the Egyptian Pharaoh/ magician, who is featured in the fourth-century AD version α of the *Alexander Romance*, is a formidable magician and astrologer who dwarfs Heliodorus in terms of power and scope: he destroys the armies of his enemies using only wax effigies, which he submerges in a copper basin while uttering incantations. When Nectanebos learns that his future in Egypt does not auger well, he leaves secretly and goes to Macedonia, where, through his magic, he impregnates Olympias with Alexander the Great, after which he persuades Philip, by means of omens, that she has been impregnated by a god. Finally, drawing on his astrological know-

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[85] For more on the nature of apostasy and on this incident see Commentary, 34.14-15.

[86] For the text, see *Alexander* in A. M. HARMON (ed.), *Lucian*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA, Harvard UP, 1925, rep. 1961), pp. 174-252 and LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", pp. 142-148. English translation of parts of Lucian's text are now in OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*, pp. 69-71 and scholia *ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

ledge, Nectanebos determines the moment of Alexander's birth so that the constellations in the sky will further his destiny as a great conqueror.[87]

All these examples, along with many others, still fail to give us a true picture of Heliodorus. A brief perusal of summaries collected by Luck on ancient and late antique magicians will serve to show that in most cases all we have are snippets about their deeds and conduct, and only in a few cases do we get to see an image as rounded as that of Apollonius of Tyana, Simon Magus, or Alexander of Abonoteichus.[88] If in the pre-ninth-century period there is one personage who comes closer to Heliodorus among those I have just mentioned, this might be the character of Simon Magus. But, as I have already stressed, Simon Magus' deeds, like those of Proterius and the others who make a pact with the Devil only resemble in part those of Heliodorus.

No one among them performs such frivolous magical tricks as those of Heliodorus, who, for example, conjures up an imaginary river. With the arrival of Heliodorus it looks as if by the ninth century AD in Byzantium we have already entered a realm of magical lore that in Europe will not develop fully for another three centuries. The conjuring up, for example, of an imaginary river in order to force women to lift their garments is found in many later European tales such as the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer, and earlier scholarship credits *VLB* for the introduction of this particular tale into the Western folklore.[89] The popularity of this "magical joke" has been such, that an Italian manual of necromancy published in *circa* 1510 contained, among other things, a recipe on how to produce this wonder.[90] Another incident for which *VLB* again holds a "first" is the one in which Heliodorus sketches a boat on the sand which turns into a real boat with the help of the *parhedros* demon. A detailed study of this part of *VLB* by Bastiaensen has shown beyond any doubt the dependence of all five similar incidents in European literature on the *VLB* version.[91] In addition, in the *Cronica di Mantua* of 1414 (or later) of Bonamente Aliprandi the whole event becomes part of a versified biography of Virgil,

[87] For the text see *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1.1.2-1.13.2 (in W. KROLL [ed.], *Historia Alexandri Magni*, vol. 1: *Recensio a sive Recensio vetusta* [Berlin, Weidmann, 1926], pp. 1-13). For further analysis see THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, pp. 551-565.

[88] LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", pp. 114-156.

[89] See Commentary, Chap. **14**, introductory remark.

[90] See JOLLY, "Medieval Magic", p. 64. The recipe is published by Ch. BURNETT, "The Conte de Sarzana Magical Manuscript", in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, Variorum, 1996), IX, p. 7.

[91] See Commentary, **25**.3-10.

together with another *historiette* also found in *VLB* in which Heliodorus takes revenge on Aithalia for his public humiliation. In *VLB* the two incidents are unrelated, (Heliodorus first sails off in the boat he has conjured up to Constantinople where he casts a spell that extinguishes every flame in the city, forcing the inhabitants to procure fire only from Aithalia's private parts), while in the *Cronica di Mantua* Virgil exacts the very same vengeance on a woman who has publicly humiliated him by suspending him in a basket. As a punishment for extinguishing every fire in the city, Virgil is imprisoned and only escapes by drawing a boat on the prison wall.[92] Even the name of the assistant demon (Gaspar/Kaspar) in *VLB* appears in later times as one of the names of the Devil in Northern European Countries.[93]

Yet, although we have seen that the author of *VLB* was extremely talented both stylistically and in his arrangement of material and although *VLB* is a tightly knit work in which the episodes are more or less well adapted to the plot as a whole (see, for example, the analysis of the character of those deeds of Heliodorus that contravene the authority of the eparch), it is hard to believe that all the Heliodorus stories were created *ex nihilo*. Certainly, if the anonymous *VLB* author originated the Heliodorus lore, we must credit him with a number of literary motifs that since the ninth century have been used over and over in world literature. But this attribution presents some difficulties. For example, although the whole Aithalia episode works well in the context of *VLB*, its faulty development becomes apparent if we compare it to versions incorporated in other Western works. More specifically, this story is better known and fully integrated in the later Western cycle of narratives about Virgil the magician and is not only much better developed but makes better sense than in *VLB*. In its earliest form it relates that Virgil fell in love with the daughter of the Emperor of Rome (Nero is the most frequently used name). The lady pretends to respond to Virgil's amorous advances, and suggests that she let him secretly into the tower in which she lives by drawing him up in a box or basket to her window. Virgil agrees. Come night, he finds the basket ready and waiting to carry him up to the chamber of his beloved. Unfortunately for him, the basket stops half-way in its ascent and the following morning the Romans find Virgil suspended in the air (in most

---

[92] See SPARGO, *Necromancer*, pp. 46-47, and ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 995-997.

[93] See H. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI (ed.) *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 4 (Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 1987), *s. v.* Kaspar (2).

versions stark naked) and humiliate him. Virgil's revenge is terrible: he extinguishes all the fires in Rome and makes it known that the only way any citizen can get fire is to take it from the private parts of the emperor's daughter. As a result the daughter is brought to a public space and the Romans light their torches as Virgil orders.[94] It is clear that this story consists of two parts, but in *VLB* only the second is developed. Of the first, perhaps, there is a trace in the words τοῦ οἰκήματος προκύψασα (peered out from [her] house, *VLB* **26**.5) which suggest that Aithalia is peering down from a high window or terrace, a remote equivalent of the tower that is the home of the woman who deceives Virgil. But in the *VLB* version even the second part does not provide a full narrative: our author hastily concludes by saying, "I think it is not only shameful, but even superfluous to recount the things *that they say* the crowd did to her." This comparison shows that *VLB* is also a rearrangement of stories about magic that were circulating in both the East and the West before the middle of the ninth century. Each author modified and adapted these short narratives to the needs of the audience. Even in the various redactions of *LL*, such modifications can also be observed. In *BHL* 4838, for example, we are told that Heliodorus can change his appearance like Proteus,[95] although such a detail does not exist in *VLB* or *VLA*. Besides, this process of rearranging-compiling is directly indicated in *VLB* by ἀνατάξασθαι that (**1**.2, see LAMPE, s. v. 1).

With regard to the provenance of these stories one can only make hypotheses, and the simplest is that the author of *VLB* carefully composed the character of Heliodorus from a number of folklore motifs and material from other primary sources, such as the narratives of Proterius and Theophilus of Adana, along with a few bits and pieces from patristic writings that were mainly heresiological. In what follows, I will suggest one more work, though without any further claim about its validity as a possible source for the Heliodorus tales: among the many accounts of magical deeds found in Greek texts, a very short story related to the so-called "half obol" of Pases is the only one that comes close to Heliodorus' transformation of base materials into gold, which effectively turns commercial life upside down in Catania. Very little is left of this narrative, which is

[94] For an extremely lengthy discussion of this story see SPARGO, *Necromancer*, pp. 136-206, and COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 326-336, and ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 874-890.

[95] CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum*, p. 15.

preserved in a few sources that attribute it to Apion the first-century AD grammarian: in an entry of the *Suda* one can find the following passage:

> Pases: Proper name and proverb: "The half-obol of Pases". This Pases was effeminate in nature and surpassed all humans in sorcery, so that, as a result of his incantations, one could see luxurious banquets and some servants who served [in them] and again [one could see] all these disappear. Pases had also a half-obol coin made by means of one of his incantations, which he used to give to the sellers from whom he wished to buy something and then, if he wished so, the coin was found again [in his hands]. And Apion the grammarian mentions him in his "On the Magician".[96]

The luxury banquets that Pases gave and the coin he always used in his transactions, may imply that he had a *parhedros* demon. One of the rewards that the Pnouthis spell promises to the master of such a demon is precisely the kind of banquet Pases used to hold.[97] The last part of this notice however, provides an interesting detail. As the *Suda* records, the grammarian Apion (1st cent. AD) included all this information in his book "On the Magician." Accordingly, I suggest here the possibility that apart from the sources I mentioned above, books such as the lost "On the Magician" of Apion may have provided the primary material for the stories of Heliodorus.

* * *

---

[96] See *Suda, Lexicon* pi.752.1-8 (ed. A. ADLER, vol. 4, p. 65): Πάσης ὄνομα κύριον. Καὶ παροιμία· "τὸ Πάσητος ἡμιωβέλιον". Ὁ δὲ Πάσης οὗτος μαλακὸς ἦν τὴν φύσιν, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐν μαγείᾳ διενήνοχεν, ὥστε ἐκ τῶν ἐπαοιδίων αὐτοῦ καὶ δεῖπνα πολυτελῆ ὁρᾶσθαι, καὶ διακονουμένους τινάς, καὶ πάλιν ἀφανῆ πάντα γίνεσθαι. Εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἡμιωβέλιον ἐκ μιᾶς αὐτῷ πεποιημένον, ὃ διαδιδόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πιπράσκουσι, παρ' ὧν ἤθελεν ὠνεῖσθαι, εἰ ἠβούλετο, πάλιν παρ' αὐτῷ ηὑρίσκετο. Καὶ Ἀπίων δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ μάγου. For the origins and variations of this motif see W. F. HANSEN, *Ariadne's Thread: A Guide to International Tales Found in Classical Literature* (Ithaca IL, Cornell UP, 2002), pp. 188-190.

[97] See *PGM* I.106-113: καὶ ὅτε βούλει δεῖ[πν]ον ποιῆσαι, λέγε· πᾶν χώρημα εὐπρεπὲς θεωρήσας [κέ]λευε τούτῳ στρῶσαι ταχέως καὶ συντόμως· εὐθὺς [περι]θήσει χρυσόροφα δώματα, τοίχους τούτοις μαρμαρωθέ[ν]τας ὄψῃ - καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεῖ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ, τὰ δὲ βλέπεσθαι μόνο[ν] - οἶνον δὲ πολυτελῆ, καθὼς πρέπει ἐξαρτίσαι τὸ δεῖπνον λ[αμ]πρῶς, συντόμως δαίμονας οἴσει καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦν[τ]άς σοι ζωστοὺς κοσμήσει. ταῦτα [σ]υντόμως ποιεῖ. Compare the underlined words to the underlined ones in the previous note. English translation in BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 6.106-114: "And when you want to give a [dinner], tell him so. Conjure up in your mind any suitable room and order him to prepare it for a banquet quickly and without delay. At once he will bestow chambers with golden ceilings, and you will see their walls covered with marble — and you consider these things partly real / and partly just illusionary — and costly wine, as is meet to cap a dinner splendidly. He will quickly bring demons, and for you he will adorn these servants with sashes. These things he does quickly".

5) THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF *VLB*

The witnesses of *VLB* amount to only nine. To these one must add two folios of a palimpsest that has preserved some segments of the same text in the lower stratum. Most of these manuscripts originate from the major Byzantine monastic centers: six from Mount Athos, and two from Meteora. The palimpsest, of unknown origin, is now kept in St. Petersburg. The only manuscript that may be assigned to the West is located in the Escorial (Spain), it is one of the earliest ones (twelfth century), and was produced in Southern Italy. The geographic distribution of the manuscripts may further support the assumption that *VLB* itself was composed in the Byzantine East, far from Sicily.[1]

5a) Manuscripts

5a.1) *Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου* 636 **B**

"Vermischter Metaphrast" (September 8 - March 25).

Paper, 190x270mm, 385 numbered leaves, written in two columns of 24 lines each, in the year 1417 by (the monk?) Gregory.[2]

The script is minuscule of good quality. Spelling and punctuation indicate a scribe well trained in grammar and syntax. Initial letters of paragraphs are enlarged and hanging in the margins and that of the first paragraph is decorated. The manuscript is foliated in a modern hand in the upper right corner of each recto.

Fols. 301-321^{v}: τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ κ′· λόγος ιδ′· φύ(λλα) κα′· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης, εὐλόγησον πάτερ.

Bibl.: S. EUSTRATIADES, *Συμπλήρωμα ἁγιορειτικῶν καταλόγων Βατοπεδίου καὶ Λαύρας* ['Αγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 4] (Paris – Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1930), p. 48; S. EUSTRATIADES – ARKADIOS VATOPEDINOS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts*

[1] One should not fail to contrast these statistics with the fact that all five manuscripts that transmit the *BHG* 981 (*VLA*) version of the *Life of Leo of Catania* are of Italian provenance, see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 76-77.

[2] Information found in the colophon (fol. 385): Ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐν ἔτει ϛϡκε′ τελειωθὲν κατὰ μῆνα ἀπρίλιον τῆς ι′ ἰνδ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους καὶ οἱ τούτῳ ἐντυγχάνοντες εὔχεσθε τῷ γράψαντι Γρηγορίῳ ἐλαχίστῳ.

in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos [Harvard Theological Studies XП] (Cambridge, MA – Paris – London, 1924), p. 127.
EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, pp. 311-312.

5a.2) *Athos, Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου* 78 (2752) **C**

"Vermischter Metaphrast" (September 8 - March 25).

Collection of various hagiographical texts, including panegyric sermons for the Lenten period. The arrangement of its contents possibly makes this manuscript the first part of a two volume "Panegyrikon".[3]

Paper, 389 numbered leaves. Written in two columns of 28 lines each by Sabas (the monk?) in August 1322.[4] The script is minuscule and its quality betrays a professional hand. Spelling and grammatical errors are almost non-existent. The division of paragraphs is rather arbitrary and often incorrect. The first letter of each paragraph is enlarged, ornamented, and hanging in the margin. The folios are numbered in the upper margin of each recto in Arabic numerals by a much later hand.

Fols. 300-317: τῶ αὐτῶ μηνὶ κʹ λόγ(ος) λʹ κʹ ϛʹ Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης. Εὐλ(όγησον) π(άτ)ερ.

On fol. 300[rv] there is a hole in the paper, which has resulted in the loss of the final part of lines 18-21 of the left column in the recto and the beginning of lines 19-21 of the right column of the verso. More holes are found in the lower margin of fols. 307-310, but without any further loss of text. Humidity has also darkened the upper part of most folios, but the text is still legible.

Bibl.: LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* I, pp. 242-243.
EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, p. 214.

5a.3) *Athos, Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου* 95 (2769) **D**

"Vermischter Metaphrast" for the first half of the liturgical year (ending Feb. 20).

Paper, 8vo, 235 numbered leaves, with one page added at the beginning and one more at the end. Written in single columns of 20 lines, in the 15[th] century. The script is minuscule of mediocre quality, but the scribe's skills in grammar are commendable. Folios 228-235[v] are written

[3] EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, p. 214.

[4] Information provided by the colophon at the end of the manuscript: Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος διὰ χειρὸς Σάβα ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἐν ἔτει ϛωλʹ μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ.

by a different, less competent, scribe of the same period, who used slightly larger characters spreading over 22 lines of text per page.[5] The initial letter of the first paragraph is enlarged, ornamented, and hanging in the margin. A later hand has numbered the folios in the upper margin of each recto.

Fols. 212-235: Φεβρου(αρίου) κʹ: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης, εὐλόγησον πάτερ. A later hand has added the following comment on the left margin of fol. 216ᵛ: περιλήου/ δώρου του/ τρησκατά/ ρατου και/ βεβήλου.

Bibl.: LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* I, p. 245; J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus. 4: Codices Cypri, Graeciae (pars altera), Hierosolymorum* [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, N.F., 2. R., Bd. 11] (Paderborn, 1995), p. 73.

EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, p. 153, n. 2.

5a.4) *Athos, Μονὴ Ξηροποτάμου* 135 (Lambros 2468) **X**

"Erweiterter Metaphrast" (February 1 - July 23).

Paper, 345x205mm, 541 numbered leaves. Written in single columns of 24 lines in the sixteenth century. The script is minuscule of good quality as is also the text itself in terms of grammar and syntax. Initial letters of paragraphs are enlarged and hanging in the margins and that of the first paragraph is ornamented. A later hand has numbered the folios.[6]

Fols. 256ᵛ-282ᵛ: μηνὶ τῷ αὐτ(ῷ) κʹ. Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης, εὐλόγησον. In marg.: φύλλα καʹ. On fol. 282ᵛ the scribe has added at the bottom of the page the words: φευρουάρις εἴληφεν ὧδε νῦν τέρμα.

Bibl.: LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος* I, p. 208.

EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* I, p. 460 n. 2, p. 581 n. 3, p. 590 nn. 1, 10, 13; III, pp. 48-50, 53 n. 1, and p. 439.

---

[5] For this scribe see below p. 122 and n. 15.

[6] Fol. 281ʳ⁻ᵛ is missing from the manuscript or from the microfilm that was made in 1974. The loss is not significant because C supplements the missing text. See the study of X and C below.

5a.5) *Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo* **E**
y. II. 6 (Gr. 314)

Premetaphrastic Menologion for the first half of the liturgical calendar (September-February).

Parchment, 229x321mm, III + 348 numbered leaves. The parchment is of rather low quality and has a hole in the upper right part of fol. 345. Written in two columns per page of 32 lines each in the twelfth century. The script is minuscule of mediocre quality, as is also the text itself: the scribe is mostly unsure about the spelling of the i sounding vowels (e.g. πολιτία, ἡστορίας, γένητο, ἐλλίνων etc.), ο (e.g. ἀγνωοῦσιν, πρὸς ἀγωρευομένην, τοῦ ὥρους [sic], κανωνικῶς, etc.), and, to a lesser extent, epsilon (e.g. Κατανέων) sounds. At times he either separates words from prepositional prefixes (e.g. δι ἐνοήθην, πρὸς ἀγωρευομένην, πρὸς ἠκούσης, δι ἤθλησεν, ὑπὲρ ἀνεστηκότος, κατὰ πλήττει, κατὰ φέρεται, ὑπὲρ αἰρόμενον, etc.) or breaks long words into their constituent parts (μυρὶ πνόου, παρέ γένεσθε [fol. 337ᵛ], ἀνὰ παῦσιν [fol. 339], etc.) or combines two or more words in one using *proclisis* (ὑπερκεφαλῆς, καταυτὴν, καταξίαν, διενεργείας etc.). The initial letter of the first paragraph is ornate, enlarged, and hanging in the margin. The manuscript was copied either in Reggio Calabria or in the Monastery of S. Pietro di Agrò.[7]

Fols. 330ᵛ-340ᵛ, 344-347ᵛ, 341: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κατάνης· Δέσπ(ο)τ(α) εὐ(λόγησον). The text that is interjected in the fols. 341-343ᵛ is the first part of the *Inventio capitis et translatio* of St. John the Baptist (*BHG* 840c-d), by Marcellus the Archimandrite. A later hand numbered the folios, and another later hand added in the right part of the bottom margin of fol. 340ᵛ the words: ζήτει ἔμπροσθεν φύλλα τρία εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο σ+ (see also DE ANDRÈS, *Catálogo*, pp. 201 and 202). Finally, there are two marginal notes by a different (perhaps thirteenth century) hand:

- fol. 334ᵛ, bottom margin: τὸν διάβολον λέγει:- ;
- fol. 336ᵛ, lower part of left margin: ἐπιστολή.

Bibl.: G. DE ANDRÈS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial,* II: Codices 179-400 (Madrid, 1965), pp. 200-202.

EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* I, p. 207 n. 3, pp. 246-9, p. 584 n. 4, p. 714; III p. 965.

---

[7] See *Paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977), p. 258, where the suggested place of origin is Reggio, Calabria, and G. MERCATI, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo* [ST 68] (Città del Vaticano, 1935), pp. 265-266, who suggests the monastery of S. Pietro di Agrò as a possible place of origin.

5a.6) *Meteora, Μονὴ Βαρλαὰμ* 150 V

"Erweiterter Metaphrast" for February including four texts for the Sunday of Orthodoxy and a *Martyrion* of St. George (April 23).

Paper, 218x320mm, 253 leaves numbered in Greek numbers in the middle of the right margin of every fifth recto. Given the discrepancy between the later sparse Arabic folio numbers and the Greek numbering of the folios that contain Leo's *Vita*, there must be a mistake either in the numbering or an additional page inserted somewhere between the first folio and the beginning of the *Life of Leo*. Two columns of text per page with 31 lines each. The monk Joasaph of the Monastery of Barlaam, who employed a neat minuscule script, wrote the manuscript in 1548/9.[8] His spelling is not perfect and he usually falls into the same errors as those of the scribe of the Escorial manuscript, e.g. διαλαβήν (lege: -εῖν), κηνήσωμεν, Σικελήαν, ἐπήσιμος, ἔνδηξιν, ἐναργεῖ (lege: -ῆ), διωκονομίθη // τρόπων (lege: τρόπον), οὕτος, γλότταν, τυγχάνωντα, ἀμφωτέροις, φρικόδη, ἐπηλημένως (sic) // Κατανέων, Ἡφέστου, ἐξεσίως, etc. Further scrutiny of the text shows infrequent errors also in:
a) accentuation (δῆθεν, προθεῖς, σπουδῆς, διὰ μηχανὴς τινός, χεῖρα, αἵγιαλῶ, etc.),
b) the separation of one word into two or the combination of two or more words in one (καὶ κρατημένων instead of κεκρατημένων, ἐπιτοαυτῶ instead of ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἔνθατα instead of ἔνθα τά, etc.).
The initial letter of the paragraphs is enlarged and hanging in the margin.

Fols. 162^{v}-175^{v} [161^{v}-174^{v}]: Τῶ αὐτῶ μ(ηνὶ) κα΄ Βίος καὶ πολιτ(εία) τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λέοντος, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κατάνης· εὐ(λόγησον). In the margin below the written area: φύλλ(α) ιγ΄.

Bibl.: N. A. Bees, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων.* Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων, vol. II, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῆς μονῆς Βαρλαάμ* (Athens, 1984), pp. 191-193; St. Efthymiadis, *Vita Tarasii*, pp. 57-58, with further bibliography on the scribe Joasaph.

Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* III, pp. 83-85.

D. Z. Sophianos and G. Galavares, *Τὰ εἰκονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα τῶν Μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων*, vol. I (Athens, 2007), pp. 65-66, 179-180, 233, 236-237 for the work of the scribe Joasaph.

---

[8] Information provided by a colophon (fol. 250^{v}), which reads as follows: + ἐγράφη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον, παρὰ Ἰωάσαφ, (μον)αχ(οῦ) ἐν τῶ στύλω τοῦ // βαρλαάμ, πλησίον τοῦ μετεώρου // τῆ ἐπικαλουμ(ένη) θεία καὶ ἱερᾶ // μονῆ τῶν ἁγίων πάντων // ἐν τῶ ζνζ΄ [7057] ἔτει.

5a.7) *Meteora, Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως* 98 **M**

Liturgical content with two hagiographical texts.

Paper, 145x213mm., 185 numbered leaves, written in single columns with 24 lines of text, in all probability by a copyist called Lazaros.[9] An indeterminable number of folios after fol. 185 is missing. The script is minuscule of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The scribe's competence is much inferior to that of the scribes who produced the earlier manuscripts and that of the Escorial. He confuses the various iota, omikron, and epsilon sounding vowels (e.g. ηστορίας, μάθησης, εἶμαι (lege: οἶμαι), ἐπίσοιμος, θρηλούμενον // ἀξιωθαύμαστα, πάντος, ἀφωτέροις, περιόνυμον, δεισιδαιμωνία // Κατανέων, βαιβέωσιν, εἰσπράτταιτε, etc.). In addition, his text is marred by combinations of two or three words that have been collapsed into one word or by single words split into two with no apparent reason (ὃ ἦν ὠήθϋν, καθηστορίας, προς ἡκούσης, καθήν, θα ὗμα, καὶ κρατημένων, δι ἔγνωσαν, οὐκεῖασεν, παραυτόν, τὸ σούτον, ὑπαλήλων, καταρετήν, ὁμοι ὅτητα, ὑφενὶ σὺν θήματι, etc.). Last but not least, the accentuation and aspiration is usually wrong and defy elementary rules, such as the rule that a circumflex should never be placed on the antepenultimate syllable of a word or over a short vowel (οὗτως, ἡ διήγησις, γλώταν, ἀγõνα, κρατήρας, τῶ ροῖζω, συμπαρακεῖμενα, ὧστε, ποινῆν, παραχρῆμα, προθεῖς, λαμπρᾶν, ἑαυτοῖς, ὑπερβαλοῦσης, οὗτω, ἐπιμελοῦμενος, προμηθοῦμενος, etc.). The scribe has occasionally inserted a mu in particular combinations of vowels and consonants (παραμπεμφθείς, ἀμφανίζειν, τῷ ἀμφανεῖ) or omitted it in other similar combinations (ἀφωτέροις, ἀναφίλεκτος, ἐθαβήθησαν). The initial letter of the first paragraph is ornate, enlarged, and hanging in the margin. Occasionally, the scribe has left space for a calligrapher to fill in enlarged and hanging letters, but it seems that this part of the preparation of the manuscript was left incomplete, as is the case in fol. 172ᵛ, where an O is missing from the beginning of the fifth line from the bottom, and in fol. 181ᵛ, where a Φ is missing from the beginning of line eight.

Fols. 164-185ᵛ: Βίος καὶ πολιτ(εία) τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργ(οῦ) τοῦ Λέοντος, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κατάνης· εὐλόγ(η)σον π(άτ)ερ. *Desinit mutile*: ... καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως (Chap. **36**). The order of the last lines before these words has been seriously disturbed (see the

[9] As it may be inferred from two notices in fol. 130: μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τὴν ψυχὴν / τοῦ δούλου σου λα/ζάρου and fol. 134ᵛ: λ(ά)ζ(α)ρ(ο)ς τ(αῦτα) (ἔ)γ(ρα)ψ(ε): / εἰς τὴν ὑψϊλωτέραν: / τ(ὴν) θ(ε)οτ(ό)κ(ο)ν, see SOPHIANOS – BEES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα*, I, pp. 130-131.

apparatus criticus). In fols. 172^{v} and 181^{v} the words στάσις and στάσις β′ have been added after the end of Chapter **13** and in the middle of Chapter **28** (after the word ὑπάρχοντα), respectively.[10] In the lower margin of fol. 175^{v} a different hand has added the words μάττην παράσχηται.

Bibl.: SOPHIANOS – BEES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα*, I, pp. 129-130.

5a.8) *Moscow, Gosudarcvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Synod. Gr.* 161 (Vlad. 379) **O**

Non-menological lectionary.

Parchment, 355x260mm, 392 numbered leaves. Minuscule script written in two columns with 35 lines of text, eleventh century. Occasionally, enlarged and hanging initial letters denote the beginning of a paragraph. The scribe is using a rather neat and easily legible minuscule script. The text is of rather good quality. The letter iota adscript usually occurs next to the letter omega and occasionally next to alpha and eta. The manuscript originally belonged to the Monastery of Great Lavra on Mt. Athos. Latyšev based his edition on it. The folios have been numbered by a later hand.

Fols. 225^{v}-239: Μηνὶ φευρουρίῳ κ′· Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης.

Bibl.: VLADIMIR, *Opisanie rukopisei*, pp. 569-571; FONKIČ – POLJAKOV, *Grecheskie rukopisei*, pp. 123-124, with detailed bibliography; M.-F. AUZÉPY, *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, pp. 49-50.
EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, pp. 741-742.

5a.9) *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislinianus* 307 **P**

“Vermischter Metaphrast,” for the entire year.

Paper, 238x160mm, 562 numbered leaves written in one column with 28 lines of text. The scribe Daniel completed the manuscript in the

---

[10] Obviously these are indications for the *anagnostes* (reader) of the monastery. The full text was intended to be read in the course of the vigil after the vesper of the Saint’s feast-day (February 20, in fact February 19 to 20) and these words indicate suspension of reading so that the vigil continues with the chanting of troparia and psalms. For this see G. REGAS, *Τυπικόν* [Λειτουργικά Βλατάδων 1] (Thessalonike, Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1994), pp. 41 and 148. For relevant signs (not words) in a number of manuscripts the transmit the *Vita Stephani Iun.*, see ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, pp. 54-58, with detailed discussion.

year 1552.[11] He was a competent scribe, but it seems that his model was already corrupt in a number of places. The initial letter of the paragraphs is enlarged and hanging in the margin. Latyšev added as an appendix to his edition a significant number of variant readings from this manuscript. The manuscript originally belonged to the Monastery of Kastamonites. A later hand has numbered the folios.

Fols. 297^{v}-309^{v}: τω αυτῶ μηνὶ κ′ φύλλ(α) ιγ′ Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης, εὐλόγησον πάτερ.

Bibl.: H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements,* vol. 3 (Paris, 1888), pp. 295-298; R. DEVREESSE, *Bibliothèque nationale. Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs,* II: *Le fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), pp. 295-298; F. HALKIN, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris. Inventaire hagiographique* [SH 44] (Brussels, 1968), pp. 274-276; J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum; Orationes. Textus Graecus* 1. *Codices Galliae* [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, N.F., 2. R., Bd. 1] (Paderborn, 1981), p. 107.
EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, pp. 150-153, 332.

5a.10) *St. Petersburg, Rossiiskaya Nazional'naya Biblioteka* Gr. 82 — S

Parchment palimpsest, 198x125mm, 251 leaves, foliated by a modern hand in the upper right corner of each recto. The upper script is a sticherarion written in the 13th-14th centuries. The lower script, which runs parallel to the upper one, written in the late 10th-early 11th century, contains an unknown number of texts that were part of probably five different codices that were palimpsested and put together to form this particular manuscript. Among the texts of the *scriptura inferior*, *VLB* (or parts thereof) is to be found in fols. 234^{rv} and 241^{rv}.[12] In fol. 234^{v}, the *VLB* text runs in 13 lines arranged in one column.

Thanks to the kind services of the late Prof. Jacob Ljubarskij and of Mr. Alexander Poroshin, I obtained a number of digital video files (*.avi) of fols 234-235^{v}, and 241^{r}, which enabled me, at least, to verify that the

---

[11] See *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600.* 2. Teil: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritaniens.* A. *Verzeichnis der Kopisten,* erstellt von E. GAMILLSCHEG – D. HARLFINGER. B. *Paläographische Charakteristika,* erstellt von H. HUNGER. C. *Tafeln* [Veroffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, III/2] (Vienna, 1989) no. 123.

[12] Tchernetska ("Membra disiecta", p. 124) has cautiously suggested that fols. 213^{rv}, 240^{rv}, and 235^{rv} also contain segments of *VLB*, but an examination has shown that they transmit different texts.

lower script of the manuscript is almost illegible to the naked eye. As is evident from my transcription of the precious few readable words of fol. 234, the reuse of the manuscript involved among other things the excision of part of the left side of the original page. What I was able to transcribe with the help of a number of computer programs (*Windows Media Player* and *Windows Movie Maker*) amounts to the following:

• Fol. 234^{r} is partly destroyed in the left upper half and at least five lines of text are missing. In the intact part of the page a segment is preserved from Chap. **21**. The following words and letters were legible:

. . . .] ναι παρ αυτου [. . . . .
. . . .] θότων αὐτῶν ως εδοξεν εν [. .
. . . .] ουσαμενων τοὺς ἅπαντας ἐν [. .
. . . .] εαυτοῦ προτρέπεται [. .
. . . .] ερον μηδένα μηδαμῶς τον Χρ [.
. . . .] κάρας αὐτῶν τοῖς ὕδασι καταδὺσ

• Fol. 234^{v} is in somewhat better shape. It can be said with certainty that this page originally contained part of the text of Chap. **22** that corresponds to lines 4 (πᾶσαν) to 13 (αὐτῶν).

. . . .] ασαν π [. . . . . . .
. . . .] εκπλαγέντες [. . . . .
. . . .] υσματ [. . . . .
. . . .] ουσαν [. . . . .
. . . .] εκ τούτου τεκ [. . . . .
. . . .] ως όλως [. . . . .
. . . .] κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν [. . . . .
. . . .] ὁ δὲ καθώρκω(an ι?)σε [. . . . .
. . . .] προστ [. . . . .
. . . .] ωρ πιεῖν επιδοθέντος ουν αὐτῶ υδατ
. . . .] προσεποιήσατο πίνειν μηδαμῶς μεν
. . . .] σθαι κατ' ολίγον δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν
. . . .] καταδὺς ἄφαντος γέγονεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν

It looks as if fol. 241^{r} also contains part, at least, of Chap. **38** and the first line of Chap. **39**. The words I was able to transcribe from this folio are the following:

.......] τοῦ...[
.......] σεβασμίας σοροῦ π[
.......] ἀκεσώδυνον φ [
.......] ιαροῦ ἰατήριον τοῖς εὐλαβῶς [
.......] ουσιν. ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν οὐρανίων ἐραστὰ [
.......] έον, ὁ λεων ὡς ἀληθῶς πεφη [

Finally, Granstrem was able to read lines 24-25 of the verso (not the recto) of the same folio, in which she found the following words: τὰ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ μεγάλα θαυμάσια καὶ // τὸν ἀτοῦ (sic?) γνήσιον θεράποντα, which are the concluding words of Chap. **37**.[13]

Bibl.: E. GRANSTREM, "Katalog grecheskih rukopisei Leningradskih hranilishch," *VV* 18 (1961), p. 270, nr. 164; *VV* 19 (1961), p. 233 nr. 280; *VV* 25 (1964), pp. 205-206 nr. 495; TCHERNETSKA, "Membra disiecta", pp. 119-126.

5b) Families of Witnesses[14]

The inscriptions found in all available manuscripts suggest, at first sight, that there are two families of manuscripts. The first family (BCDE POX), assigns *VLB* to February 20. All these witnesses present the same formulation: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος, ἐπισκόπου (ἀρχιεπ. E) Κατάνης. The other two manuscripts (MV) and *VLW* provide the following title: Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Λέοντος, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κατάνης. V assigns *VLB* to February 21.

However, on closer scrutiny, the manuscripts reveal some further particularities, which place E and O on the fringes of the families. I will treat their peculiarities in due course.

5b.1) *The Athonite Family* (BCDPXO)

The six manuscripts that make up this family were all copied on Mount Athos and — except O that dates to the eleventh century — are rather late, spanning the period between the 14[th] and mid-16[th] century. However, the quality of the text transmitted by all four is very good and they are characterized by an almost complete uniformity. The following are characteristic readings of this family:

---

[13] See TCHERNETSKA, "Membra disiecta", p. 124 and n. 25 for the reference.

[14] In collating the manuscripts reference will be made to the Chapters of the present edition.

Chap. 4°17: *om.* Λέοντος – μητροπόλεως BCDOPX || 4°28: πιστεύεται BC DOPX] γινώσκεται *cett.* || 8°13: *om.* ἐξαίρετον – θαύματος BCDOPX || 9°2: φάσμα BCDOPX] τέρας *cett.* || 14°2: ἐχθρῶν BCDOPX] αἰσχρῶν *cett.* || 16°21: *add.* Ἐκράτη (*sic* O, εἶχε BCDPX) δὲ τηνικαῦτα (τότε BCDPX) τὰ σκῆπτρα Ῥωμαίων Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ εὐσεβέστατος, σὺν Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ υἱῷ, ὁ υἱὸς Κώνσταντος, ἔκγονος (ἔγγονος BCDPX) δὲ Ἡρακλείου. Ἡ δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑφήγησις τοιαύτη τις ἦν BCDOPX || 17°2: Κωνσταντίνω καὶ Ἰουστινιανῷ BCDOPX] Λέοντι καὶ Κωνσταντίνω *cett.* || 22°23: ἀπ' αὐτῶν BCDOPX] ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν *cett.* || 35°12: ἐκίνησε πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον θαμβεῖσθαι BCDOPX] μειζόνως θαμβεῖσθαι συνεκίνησεν *cett.* || 40°7: *om.* καὶ ἐγκαλλωπιζομένοις BCDOPX.

See also: **2°3**, **2°15**, **4°6**, **4°32**, **6°9**, **7°32**, **9°9**, **12°17**, **14°1**, **15°21**, **16°19**, **19°24**, **20°6**, **20°21**, **21°13**, **21°14**, **21°20**, **24°34**, **25°32**, **29°7**, **29°15**, **30°13**, **30°35**, **31°30**, **33°21**, **34°35**, **35°10**, **35°12**, **36°1**, **37°22**, **39°10**, and **39°12**.

5b.1a) BDP

The witnesses BDP are so close to each other that at first sight they give the impression that their scribes copied the same exemplar:

Chap. **1°7**: *om.* τινα BDP || **5°15**: *om.* καὶ BDP || **9°6**: ἰαμβρῆν et alia nomina] ἰαββρῆν (ἰαβρῆν P) BDP || **14°16**: *om.* τῶν BDP || **15°26**: πρὸς] εἰς BDP || **15°33**: ἀκρατῶς] ἀνακράτος BDP || **20°41**: ἀπαίρομεν] ἐπαίρομεν BDP || **26°19**: *om.* τῶν BDP || **29°1**: *om.* τὴν BDP || **31°45**: *om.* λίθον εὗρον μηδαμῶς τῆς οἰκείας μεταβληθέντα ποιότητος ὂν καὶ ζυγοστατήσαντες BDP

See also: **32°14**, **35°8**, **36°14**, **38°19**, **40°15**.

Given, however, that B is the earliest of the three, the obvious conclusion is that D and P are its apographs.

Furthermore, a detailed collation of the text of B to the text covering fols. 212-227ᵛ of D has revealed the following variants (for the fols. 228-235ᵛ of D see below):

Chap. **4**

1) πᾶσι προθεὶς B (fol. 302ᵛ) δὲ προθεὶς πᾶσι D (fol. 213ᵛ)

2) πολίτης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἁπάντων B (fol. 303), *om.* D (fol. 214)

Chap. **13**

3) τοσαύτη γάρ B (fol. 308), τοσαύτη δέ D (fol. 219)

Chap. **24**

4) θάνατον ἐπαγαγεῖν B (fol. 313), θᾶττον θάνατον ἐπαγαγεῖν D (fol. 224ᵛ)

Chap. **25**

5) κατεχομένην αὐτῷ B (fol. 313), κατεχομένην D (fol. 224ᵛ)

6) αὐθόρμητον B (fol. 313ᵛ), αὐθόμηρτον D (fol. 225)

Chap. **28**

7) ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν B (fol. 315ᵛ), ἐπὶ διήγησιν D (fol. 227)

Chap. **29**
8) ὑπάρχου B (fol. 315^{v}), ἐπάρχου D (fol. 227)

The almost perfect agreement of these two manuscripts is disturbed in folios 228-235^{v} of D (Chap. **30**: πληροφορίαν τελείαν ... until the end), which were written by a different scribe. This scribe was neither as careful nor as well trained as his predecessor who had copied the first part of the text.[15]

I have not included in this examination the text provided by fols. 228-235^{v} of D in view of its inferiority. However, the analysis of the above variants may suggest the following concerning the relationship of D to B:

The discrepancies between B and D consist in omissions of words (above nos. 5 and 7) or of phrases (no. 2, a typical "saut au même du même"), and plain misreading of words (nos. 3, 6, 8). All the words that were omitted are present in B.

The only instances in which D offers more than B are the variants nos. 1 and 4. It is worth noting, though, with regard to variant no. 1 that in D there is a β above the word προθεὶς, while above the word πᾶσι there is an α by the same hand. This means that the scribe of D was copying a text that followed the word order of B. The δέ is an addition that might be attributed to the scribe himself given his subconscious preference for this particle as is also evident in variant no. 3. Finally, the addition of θᾶττον in no. 4, which is attested by no other manuscript, may be a typical psychological error of the scribe, who wrote a *homoearchon* word before he realized that his word was θάνατος not θᾶττον.[16]

This analysis suggests that D is a direct apograph of B.

On the other hand, P is inferior to all the manuscripts of the Athonite family. While, in general, it agrees with all the Athonite manuscripts as against those of the Meteora family (VM), it usually omits or misreads words found in B and all the other Athonite or, even, all the other manuscripts, such as the following:

---

[15] I cite here the variants found in paragraph 37 (fols. 232^{v}-233^{v}), which should be enough to show the lower level of competence on the part of the second scribe of D: θαῦμα καὶ βίον D] βίον B // ὑπὲρ θαύμασαν D] ἐθαύμασαν B // αἱρετικὸν στιφος D] αἱρετικῶν στίφος B // ἐληλαγμενα D] ἐληλεγμένα B // κουφεύοντα D] κωφεύοντα B // λόβη D] λώβη B // μείζων D] μείζω B // ἰσότητος D] ἰσότητα B. Interestingly, the mistakes in just one paragraph written by this scribe are as many as the mistakes in the whole segment of *VLB* that was written by the first and main copyist.

[16] For these errors see WEST, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 20-29, esp. 23-25.

Chap. **3**: δῆθεν θεοῖς B, *om.* δῆθεν P (fol. 298) || **4**. ἀληθοῦς θεογνωσίας B, ἀληθείας P (fol. 298), ὡς ἀληθῶς B, *om.* ὡς P (fol. 298v), οὗτος γάρ B, *om.* γὰρ P (fol. 298v), τῶν κατὰ τὴν B, τῶ κατὰ τὴν P (fol. 298v), πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος B, πιστὸν καὶ φρόνιμος P (fol. 298v) || **5**: Καταναίων περιφανοῦς μητροπόλεως B, Καταναίων, μητροπόλεων P (fol. 299) || **6**: καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχικῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀξιολογώτατον B, *om.* P (fol. 299), πενήτων προϊστάμενος, ὀρφανῶν προμηθούμενος B, *om.* P (fol. 299v) || **7**: φιλοπονήμασιν B, πονήμασιν P (fol. 299v) || **11**: κατ' αὐτὴν δέ B, κατὰ τὴν δέ P (fol. 300v) || **12**: πάρεδρον B, πρόεδρον P (fol. 301) || **14**: καὶ ἀκολάστων ἀνδρῶν B, *om.* P (fol. 301v) || **17**: κατακρημνίζειν B, κρημνίζειν P (fol. 302v) || **20**: ὑμεῖς B, ὑμῖν P (fol. 303) || **22**: ἐπιδοθέντος οὖν B, *om.* οὖν P (fol. 304) || **24**: αἱμυλίοις B, μιλιχίοις (*lectio facilior*) P (fol. 304v) || **26**: θεάσασθαι θέλουσα B, *om.* P (fol. 305) || **27**: ἀποπτῆναι B, ἀποπτῆσαι P (fol. 305v) || **29**: ὡς εἰκός B, *om.* P (fol. 306) || **32**: προστιθείς B, προτιθείς P (fol. 307) || **38**: τερπνότητι B, *om.* P (fol. 308) || **39**: αἰώνιον B, αἰωνίου P (fol. 309).

P also appears to be a direct apograph of B, since it agrees with B in all other cases, even when B transmits a misspelled word (e.g. πρωτοκούνσορα in Chap. **18**.4-5, ἀπαταιῶνος in Chap. **30**.15).

That DP, however, have independently copied B can be further supported on the basis of the following instances, in which BP agree against D and BD agree as against P. Apart from the examples that can easily be culled from the above lists of the D and P variants compare, for example, the following ones:

Chap. **1**: ὑποθέσεως BD, ὑποθέως P || **3**: ἐκπεμπόμενον BD, ἐκπεπόμενον P, δῆθεν θεοῖς BD, θεοῖς P || **4**: ἀληθοῦς θεογνωσίας BD, ἀληθείας P, τοῦ ὡς BD, τοῦ P || **5**: Καταν. περιφανοῦς μητροπόλεως BD, Καταναίων μητροπόλεων P || **7**: φιλοπονήμασιν BD, πονήμασιν P || **12**: πάρεδρον BD, πρόεδρον P

And also:

Chap. **4**: πολίτης καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἁπάντων BP, *om.* D || **6**: ἐπιμελόμενος BP, ἐπιμελούμενος D || **29**: ὑπάρχου BP, ἐπάρχου D || **30**: καὶ δὴ BP, *om.* δὴ D || **31**: ἔφασαν BP, ἔφθασαν D || **31**: ἔδρασεν BP, ἔδραμεν D || **32**: ἀνομίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτοῦ BP, ἀνομίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν D || **33**: δυσσεβὴς BP, δυσσὴς D ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν τοῦτον BP, ἐπ. τοῦτον ὑμῶν D

See also the variants in note 15 above.

In conclusion, D and P derive independently from B. Consequently, the present edition will ignore these witnesses.

5b.1b) BCX

After discarding D and P the remaining manuscripts of the Athonite Family can be divided into the following sub-families.

Within BCOX, numerous variants isolate BCX from O and even the other manuscripts:

Chap. **3°18**: ἀναμφίβολον BCX, ἀναμφίλεκτον *cett.* || **3°24**: καὶ τοῦτο – συμπαραληρεῖν *om.* BCX || **7°6**: ἐκτύπωμα BCX, κίβδηλον *cett.* || **9°21**: τοῦ περιδόξου τῶν ἐπάρχων μεγέθους BCX, τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος περιδόξου μεγέθους *cett.* || **13°33**: ἡ θεία τῶν κορυφαίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων δυάς, Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος BCX, ἡ θεοσυνέργητος δυὰς τῶν κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ, Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος *cett.* || **15°27**: ἀκολάστου BCX, ἀκαθέκτου *cett.* || **17°7**: θείας BCX, θεοηχεῖς *cett.* || **20°13**: ἠβουλόμην, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχον ἐμφανισθῆναι BCX, ἔμελλον, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπτοούμην φυγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν· *cett.* || **30°32**: παραστὰς γοῦν καὶ ἀνακριθείς, τὸ δρᾶμα πᾶν ἐξεκάλυψεν. Ὁ δὲ ἔπαρχος, τὸν μὲν νεανίαν πλάνῃ περιπεσόντα δι' ἐπαοιδίας τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος ἀθωώσας τῷ σεβασμίῳ δίδωσι BCX, παραστάντα γοῦν καὶ ἀνακριθέντα (παραστ. - ἀνακριθέντα *om.* M) καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα πᾶν ἐκκαλύψαντα, τὸν μὲν παῖδα περιπεσόντα πλάνῃ δι' ἐπαοιδίας τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος ἀθωώσας δίδωσι τῷ σεβασμίῳ *cett.* || **35°4**: μετὰ δέους ἀπεδέξαντο BCX, ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ (καὶ *om.* O), μετὰ δέους ἐσεβάσθησαν *cett.*

See also: **1°10, 2°14, 3°3, 3°22, 3°24, 3°25, 4°2, 4°10, 5°13, 6°3, 7°14, 7°16, 7°17, 7°26, 7°33, 7°34, 8°3, 8°10, 9°12, 10°6, 10°13, 10°14, 11°4, 11°13, 11°22, 12°5, 12°10, 12°18, 12°27, 13°3, 14°4, 14°9, 14°14, 15°2, 15°19, 15°20, 16°1, 16°3, 16°18, 16°23, 18°2, 18°7, 19°5, 19°9, 19°26, 20°25, 20°29, 20°34, 20°36, 21°23-24, 21°25, 21°29, 21°30, 21°31, 21°32, 21°40, 22°4, 24°12, 24°13, 24°23, 24°27, 24°28, 24°30, 25°3, 25°5, 25°44, 26°5, 26°16, 26°23, 26°29, 26°30, 26°31, 26°34, 27°2, 27°8, 27°10, 28°10, 29°13, 30°11, 31°14, 31°25, 31°26, 31°27, 31°33, 32°4, 33°1, 33°13, 34°2, 34°8, 34°14, 34°17, 35°2, 36°3, 36°5, 36°7, 36°12, 36°13, 36°25, 38°28, 38°30, 39°8, 40°2, 40°3, 40°6, 40°9.**

In a few instances X differs from BC, allowing us to postulate a further sub-group (BC) within BCX.

Chap. **5°4**: ἀνθρωπίνη BC, ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ X || **6°16**: ἐπιμελόμενος BC, ἐπιμελούμενος X (et *cett.*) || **17°42**: κακομηχανίας BC (et O), κακοτεχνίας X (et *cett.*), μηχανῆς E || **31°32**: αὐτὸς BC, *om.* X || **31°34**: ἄφνω πεφηνὼς BC, αὐτὸς X || **34°11**: ἑαυτοῦ BC, αὐτοῦ X (et OMV).

Moreover, X presents a number of individual readings:

Chap. **4°11**: ὢν] *add.* καὶ X || **5°2**: βαθμῶν] *om.* X || **5°4**: ἀνθρωπίνῃ] *add.* καὶ X || **5°18**: ἀθρόως X (et M)] ἀθρόον *cett.* || **6°6**: ποικίλοις] *add.* τρο ποικίλοις X || **6°7**: ἐπιτήδευεν X] ἐπετήδευεν *cett.* || **8°1**: θαυμάτων] *om.* X || **8°4**: τὰ] *om.* X || **9°7**: αἰγύπτιον] *om.* X (et E) || **10°28**: πληροῦντα X] πληροῦν *cett.*

See also: **11°19, 12°9, 13°4, 13°16, 16°20, 17°24, 21°7, 21°35, 25°13, 28°16, 30°16, 34°6, 34°29, 34°41, 38°21, 40°10.**

X and C agree only in two cases against B:

Chap. **9°6**: ἀβειρὼν CX, Ἰαμβρῆν ME, ἰαββρῆν B (ἰαμβρῆν *in marg.* X), ἰαμβρὸν O, ἀμβρὴν V || **38°13-19**: ἐν τῷ περικαλλεῖ καὶ μαρτυρικῷ σηκῷ Λου-

κίας τῆς καλλίστης παρθενομάρτυρος CX, ἐν τῷ περικαλλεῖ καὶ μαρτυρικῷ Λουκίας τῆς καλλίστης παρθενομάρτυρος ναῷ B.

These, however, cannot affect the established relations among the three manuscripts.

A few readings characteristic of B verify that B is not the model for C, a fact also supported by the dates when these manuscripts were copied (1417 and 1322 A.D. respectively). These individual readings are:

Chap. **1°7**: τινα] *om.* B || **5°15**: καὶ] *om.* B || **14°16**: τῶν] *om.* B || **15°26**: εἰς B, πρὸς *cett.* || **26°19**: τῶν] *om.* B || **29°1**: τῶν] *om.* B || **31°45**: λίθον - ζυγοστατήσαντες] *om.* B. || **32°14**: καὶ τερατείας] *om.* B || **35°8**: τὴν] *om.* B.

Finally, the omission of three words by C, that are preserved by B, eliminates the possibility that C is the ancestor of B:

Chap. **3°19**: καὶ δυστυχῶς ἀδοξήσαντος] *om.* C.

5b.2) *The Meteora Family* (MV)

M and V are closely related as can be seen from the following:

Chap. **1°1**: εἶναι] *om.* MV || **1°5**: πρῶτον] *om.* MV || **3°5**: Ἐμπεδοκλέα τοὔνομα] *om.* MV (et E) || **3°30**: πυρὶ] *om.* MV || **3°31**: καὶ *om.*] MV || **4°39**: σιτηρέσιον MV] σιτομέτριον *cett.* || **6°19**: τε EV, ται M] τὰ *cett.* || 7°13: Θεοῦ] *om.* MV || **7°29**: ἁγίου MV] θείου *cett.* || **9°11**: εὐγενοῦς] *om.* MV || **20°18**: διανοηθείητε MVE] διανοηθῆτε *cett.*

See also: **10°4**, **10°8**, **10°25**, **11°15**, **12°11**, **12°17**, **13°22**, **13°25**, **15°15**, **16°7**, **17°4**, **17°29**, **17°45**, **17°46**, **19°16**, **21°5**, **22°6**, **23°28**, **26°24**, **31°40**, **33°27**, **35°3**.

V cannot have been copied by M, not only because it is later (V 1548/9, M 15th cent.), but also on account of the following readings:

Chap. **1°11**: τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ μάθησις] *om.* V || **2°12**: διῳκονομήθη] *add.* εἰ V || **3°16**: σάνδαλος] σκάνδαλος V || **3°20**: τῷ μύθῳ] τῶν μύθων V, μύθει E || **3°21**: γεννῆσθαι V] γεγεννῆσθαι *cett.* || 3°28-29: πάλαι (πάλλιν M) τῷ τοιούτῳ τῆς Αἴτνης] πάλιν τὸν τοιοῦτον τῇ Αἴτνῃ V || **4°18**: θεοφόρος] θεόσοφος V || **32°24**: καὶ χλευάζειν] *om.* V || **36°29**: ἐθαυμάζετο] ἐδοξάζετο V || **38°3**: εἰκοστὴν] εἰκοστὴν πρώτην V.

See also: **3°33**, **4°30**, **10°23**, **12°13**, **16°5**, **16°8**, **17°31**, **19°12**, **20°15**, **20°20**, **22°8**, **23°1**, **25°33**, **26°18**, **27°9**, **29°5**, **29°9**, **30°20**, **31°41**, **32°22**, **34°34**, **36°1**, **36°22**, **38°27**, **40°14**.

A number of omissions and variants in M allow for the conclusion that M was not the model for V. Compare the following:

Chap. **5°5**: περιφανοῦς] *om.* M || **5°12**: τὸν] *om.* M || **6°11**: καὶ θρασύτητα] *om.* M || **7°9**: πολυκύκλου] περικύκλου M || **13°11**: κοινῶς, κοινὸς O, κινῶν E, κοινωνὸς M || **16°14**: Λούκιος] Λεύκιος M || **30°3**: ὑπάρχου] ἐπάρχου M ||

30°28: παραστάντα γοῦν καὶ ἀνακριθέντα] *om*. M || **36°6**: διὰ τὴν δεδομένην _ τὸ τῆς σεμνοπρεπείας ἀξιάγαστον] *om*. M.

See also: **7°11**, **9°18**, **9°23**, **11°6**, **13°8**, **13°29**, **14°13**, **15°6**, **17°21**, **17°30**, **18°8**, **19°22**, **20°28**, **24°15**, **26°10**, **27°6**, **29°4**, **30°33**, **31°5**, **31°6**, **31°15**, **32°15**, **34°7**, **34°23**, **34°33**, **34°38**, **35°6**.

Therefore, M and V were copied independently from the same hyparchetype.

5b.3) E: *An Inferior Intermediary Manuscript Related to* BCX

This is one of the earliest manuscripts but, unfortunately, it is also the *codex inferior* among them. The scribe who copied it apparently decided at some point around Chap. **4** to cut his work short. As a result, E provides a text roughly 10% shorter than that of all the other manuscripts. The first paragraphs after Chap. **4** are marred by continuous omissions and *lacunae*. Unfortunately, this trend becomes even worse after Chap. **21** and especially after Chap. **24**. In Chap. **36**, for example, E omits almost 45% of the text preserved by all other manuscripts. In other instances the copyist has simply abbreviated sentences by cutting down on adjectives and complex vocabulary structures. An example of this abbreviating procedure from Chap. **4** will suffice to make my point clear. Compare (spelling of the manuscripts is kept):

M, fol. 166v	E, fol. 332
οὗτως τὸ μὲν σωματϊκὸν γένος, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ραβεννησίων περὶ ὀνύμου μ(η-τ)ροπόλεως κατάγων γϋνώσκεται· εὐ-γενῶν γονέων γόνος ἐκφὺς εὐγενέ-στερος. τὸ δὲ πν(ευματ)ικὸν καὶ ὃ πάντες οἱ τοῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ δϊεναρέτου πο-λϊτείας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπεγράψατο· ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν σϋγγενείας, δϊὰ τῆς πν(ευμα-τ)ικῆς ἀναγεννήσ(εως) καὶ τοῦ κατα-ρετὴν βίου εἰς πεποιημένον αὐτῶ· ἀνό-θευτον ἔσχε καὶ ἀπαραποίητον πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελϊκὴν ἀπηκρϊβωμένον κατα το δυ-νατὸν ὁμοι ὅτητα· ὃς δϊ ϋπερβαλοῦσης ἀρετῆς τελίαν ἀκρότητα καὶ βίου περϊ-δόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν...	οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ τῆς τῶν ραβεννησίων περι ὀνύμου μητροπόλεως κατάγων γινώσκεται· ἐξευγενῶν γο-νέων ἐκφὺς εὐγενέστερος. ... ὃς διυπερβαλλούσης ἀρετῆς τελείαν ἀκρότητα καὶ βίου περι-δόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν...

The state of the text of E may suggest that the copyist was either copying in haste or trying consciously to "cheat" on his patron, and this is

the only reason for the abbreviations, omissions and textual alterations of the text. With regards to all these phenomena of textual corruption, the following can be observed: apart from omissions of major (some times four or five lines long) segments of text, the copyist prefers the use of fewer words in order to convey the same meaning as in the following examples:

Chap. **5**°6:
Σαβῖνον, τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν διϊθύνοντα θρόνον]
Σαβίνον, τὸν προ αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπον E (fol. 332v).

Chap. **9**°1:
τῆς αὐτοῦ μακαρίας μετὰ σώματος ἀνεπιλήπτου βιοτῆς]
τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου τοῦτου βιὸτῆς E (fol. 334).

Chap. **16**°10-17:
διηπορεῖτο τούτοις ὁ ὕπαρχος, τοὔνομα Λούκιος, διασκεπτόμενος, τί ἂν δέοι διαπράξασθαι]
διήπορεῖτο ὁ ὕπαρχος Λούκιος τί ἂν διαπράξηται E (fol. 336v).

Chap. **18**°13-15:
ὥστε τούτων ἐντὸς ἀνυπερθέτως παραστῆσαι κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν τὸν δύσμορον]
ὥστε κατὰ πρώσωπον αὐτῶν στῆσαι τὸν δύσμωρον E (fol. 337v).

Chap. **20**°8-10:
οὐ βίᾳ τινὸς ἀνάγκης κατεπειγόμενος ἥκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς]
οὐ βίας τινὸς ἥκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς E (fol. 337v), etc.

He also tends to either shorten words that contain one or more prepositional prefixes, as in the following examples:

Chap. **5**°10: ἀρχιερωσύνης] ἱερωσύνης E || **6**°13: διελέγχων] ἐλέγχων E || **11**°18: ἀπαρνήσασθαι] ἀρνήσασθαί σε E || **13**°20: συνταράσσων] ταράσσων E || **14**°12: διαπορεύεσθαι] πορεύεσθαι E || **15**°12: ἀπεμπωληθῆναι] ποληθῆναι E || **17**°9: ἀνεφάνη] ἐφάνη E || **26**°22: καταγέλωτα] γέλωτα E || **31**°23: ἀνθυποστρέψαντες] ὑποστρέψαντες E, etc.,

or uses a more common synonym:

Chap. **1**°9: λαλούμενα] λεγόμενα E || **9**°15: νομιζόμενος] λεγόμενος E || **10**°9: σπουδαζομένου] ἐλπιζομένου E || **15**°16: πιπράσκουσιν] πολοῦσιν E || **19**°8: ἐποκεῖλαι] στῆναι E || **22**°16: παρασχεθῆναι] δοῦναι E || **23**°3 κατιδόντες] θεασάμενοι E || **25**°8: κύτος] χείλος E || **26**°1: περιηγγέλη] ἐλεχθη E || **31**°1: γῆθεν] ἀπὸ γῆς E || **31**°8, 46: γλιχόμενοι, ὁλκὴν] βουλόμενοι, σταθμὸν E || **33**°7, 22: μυσταγωγίαν, ἱερουργίας] λειτουργίαν, λειτουργείας E, etc.

or even substitutes a periphrasis for a single word:

Chap. **12**°6: πονηρὸν πάρεδρον] δαίμονα E || **21**°15: κελεύω γενέσθαι] ποιήσω E || **28**°18: μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως] ἰσαγγέλου E || **32**°7-8: τῇ τῆς μαγικῆς κακοδαιμονίας ἐξαπάτῃ] τῇ γοήτικῇ αὐτοῦ ἀπάτῃ E, etc.

Finally, for no apparent reason the scribe has reduced a few adjectives in the superlative or comparative to simple positive grade.

Chap. **9°8**: ὀνομαστότατον] ὀνομαστὸν E || **10°17**: μεσαίτατον] μέσον E || **11°17**: πρότερον] πρῶτον E || **17°12**: πλείστας] πολλὰς E.

However, Chapters **1-3**, **5**, **10-11**, **14**, **20**, **29**, **39**, and **40** in E are as complete as in any other manuscript. In these chapters textual omissions are as numerous as in, for example, those of the Athonite family and the variants used bring this manuscript generally into accordance with the consensus of the other manuscripts. On the other hand, all the variants listed above demonstrate that M or V could not have been copied from E. The opposite is equally impossible in view of the antiquity of E. What is more, these variants and, especially, the omissions may offer good reasons to discard the manuscript. However, those parts of the manuscript that are very close or identical to the text offered by all other manuscripts are of enormous help in verifying and sometimes consolidating a number of readings. Besides, the parts of the text that are transmitted unabbreviated by this manuscript suggest that the copyist was using an exemplar that belonged to the early stages of the textual transmission of *VLB*. The majority of the variants listed above[17] show the differences between EVM and BC(DP)XO

Due to its high place in the transmission of the text of *VLB*, E inevitably agrees in a number of instances with O *and* the Athonite family, as against the readings provided by MV. Although at first sight this agreement seems widespread, a careful examination of all the cases shows that most are simply a matter of omitting of words and particles or of word order. The following list is exhaustive:

Chap. **2°1**: τῆς MV] *om.* EBCXO || **4°4**: ἱκανὸν MV] *om.* EBCXO || **10°4**: τῶν MV] *om.* EBCXO || **10°25**: καὶ MV] *om.* EBCXO || **11°5**: ἀνύψωσεν εἰς τόν ἀέρα MV] εἰς τόν ἀέρα ἀνύψωσε (ὕψωσεν E) EBCXO || **17°37**: μετατρέπειν πειρᾶται τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ MV] μετατρέπειν τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ πειρᾶται EBCXO || **18°12**: σπουδῆς πολλῆς MV] πολλῆς σπουδῆς EBCXO || **20°17**: ἣ MV] *om.* EBCXO || **23°28**: βεβαιώσεως MV] βεβαίως (-αῖος E) EBCXO || **25°6**: αὐτοῦ κατεχομένην MV] κατεχομένην αὐτῷ BCX, κατεχομένην αὐτοῦ OE || **26°13**: αὐτῆς MV] *om.* EBCXO || **27°22**: πόλει MV] *om.* EBCXO || **34°9**: τοῦ αὐτοῦ τραχήλου MV] τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτοῦ (τούτου O) EBCXO || **34°35**: ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου κατέχων MV] κατέχων ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου EBCXO || **35°13**: τῷ MV] *om.* EBCXO || **36°40**: ἱερᾶς MV] *om.* EBCO.

Interestingly enough, E agrees with O against all other manuscripts in the following five instances:

Chap. **4°12**: προτιθεὶς OE] προθεὶς *cett.* || **6°20**: γινόμενος OE] γενόμενος *cett.* || **7°28**: βρύων OE (et V)] -ον *cett.* || **20°14**: τὴν ἀρχήν φυγεῖν ἐπτοούμην οὐδ' ὅλως OE] οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπτοούμην φυγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν MV, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχον ἐμφανισθῆναι BCX || **38°12**: ἐναπεθησαυρίσθη OE] ἐναπετέθη *cett.*

In a few cases, already mentioned above,[18] BCXOE provide a different and usually better reading than that provided by MV, as in the following:

Chap. **4°39**: σιτομέτριον BCXOE] σιτηρέσιον MV || **10°8**: ἐπεζήτει BCXOE] ἐπιζητεῖ MV || **13°22**: ἐπεδείκνυεν BCXOE] ἀπεδείκνυεν MV || **13°25** περιβόητον BCXOE] ὑπερβόητον MV || **17°45, 46**: ἐφ', πρὸς BCXOE] πρός, εἰς MV || **26°24**: τοσαύτην BCXOE] τοσαύτης MV || **35°3**: ἄγαν BCXOE] ἅμα MV

Evidently, here σιτομέτριον of BCXOE is better than σιτηρέσιον of MV, since it is part of a Biblical quotation. Equally preferable are the readings ἐπεδείκνυεν, περιβόητον (ὑπερβόητον of MV is not attested elsewhere), ἄγαν, ἐπεζήτει, τοσαύτην and perhaps ἐφ', and πρὸς.

However, the agreement of E with BCX as against all other manuscripts, may be the decisive point with regards to its placing in the *stemma codicum*: these four manuscripts combined omit fourteen words, and in ten instances provide different readings.

Chap. **12°3**: τε *cett.* (ται V)] δὲ BCXE || **12°20**: λίαν] *om.* BCXE || **14°17**: καὶ καγχασμὸν] *om.* BCXE || **15°3**: τῶν] *om.* BCXE || **15°17**: ἅμα] *om.* BCXE || **20°26**: γοῦν] οὖν BCXE || **21°17**: προέτρεπεν *cett.*] προετρέπετο BCXE || **21°49**: φυλάσσοντος *cett.*] φυλάττοντος BCXE || **24°30**: ὁ *om.* BCXE || **24°35**: ἀναλωθῆναι *cett.*] ἀναι(ε E)ρεθῆναι BCXE || **25°20**: Ἡλιόδωρος] *om.* BCXE || **25°25**: τοῦ] *om.* BCXE || **25°43**: αὐθημερὸν] *om.* BCXE || **30°14**: ἔχειν ἵππον *cett.*] ἵππον ἔχειν BCXE || **32°17**: προκόπτειν *cett.*] προκόπτων BCXE || **33°3**: τινι] *om.* BCXE || **33°5**: ἡμῶν] *om.* BCXE || **33°8**: συνεισέδραμεν *cett.*] συνέδραμεν BCXE || **33°11**: πιστευόντων *cett.*] πιστῶν BCXE || **36°33**: μετάστασιν (*om.* O) καὶ] *om.* BCE || **36°34**: ἐνδημίαν OV] ἐκδημίαν BCE || **38°4**: ἡμέραν] *om.* BCE.

Twenty-four instances of agreement against all other manuscripts are too many to be ignored so this manuscript is more likely to derive from a model that was close to the Athonite family and also O (see above). It is difficult to attribute all the above particularities of the E text to the idiosyncratic copying method of E's scribe,[19] and the simplest explanation

---

[18] P. 125.

[19] It may be observed, however, that some of the variants in which E sides with BCX contain an element of omission; compare, for example: Chap. **33°8**: συνέδραμεν BCXE] συνεισέδραμεν *cett.* || Chap. **33°11**: πιστῶν BCXE] πιστευόντων *cett.*, whereas the following one

may be the assumption that E reflects in slightly abridged form a model that was close to the model that also gave us the Athonite family.

In view of its antiquity, this manuscript will be utilized for the present edition, but not as prominently as M and V, except for some readings, in which it agrees with BCX and O against MV. Mainly, it will serve as a witness in those instances in which it corroborates the readings of other manuscripts. I have adopted its variants in very few cases.[20]

5b.4) *The St. Petersburg Palimpsest* (S)

This is the earliest of all existing manuscripts (late 10th-early 11th c.) and the few lines I have been able to transcribe,[21] show interesting agreements with MV against BCX. Compare:

Chap. **21°21**: λέγεται γεγονέναι SOEMV] γεγονέναι λέγεται BCX || **21°23**: εἰσεληλυθότων αὐτῶν SOEMV] εἰσεληλυθότας αὐτοὺς BCX || **21°24**: λουσαμένων SOEMV] λουσαμένους BCX || **21°25**: τοὺς SOEMV]: *om.* BCX || **21°29**: καταδύσας SOEMV] καταδῦναι BCX || **38°30**: σοροῦ SOEMV] σοροῦ ὃ BCX.

In the following instances, however, S sides with EMV against BCX *and* O:

Chap. **22°13**: κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἀπεφήναντο SEMV] κεφ. ἀπ. τιμ. BCXO
Chap. **22°23**: ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν SEMV] ἀπ' αὐτῶν BCXO

The very few lines that are legible from S show a consistent agreement with the Meteora family manuscripts. Although the preserved excerpt from S does not allow us to place it with some degree of accuracy within the *stemma codicum*, its legible part establishes, at least, that the Meteora family of manuscripts (and E) are textually closer to the earliest existing testimony of *VLB*.

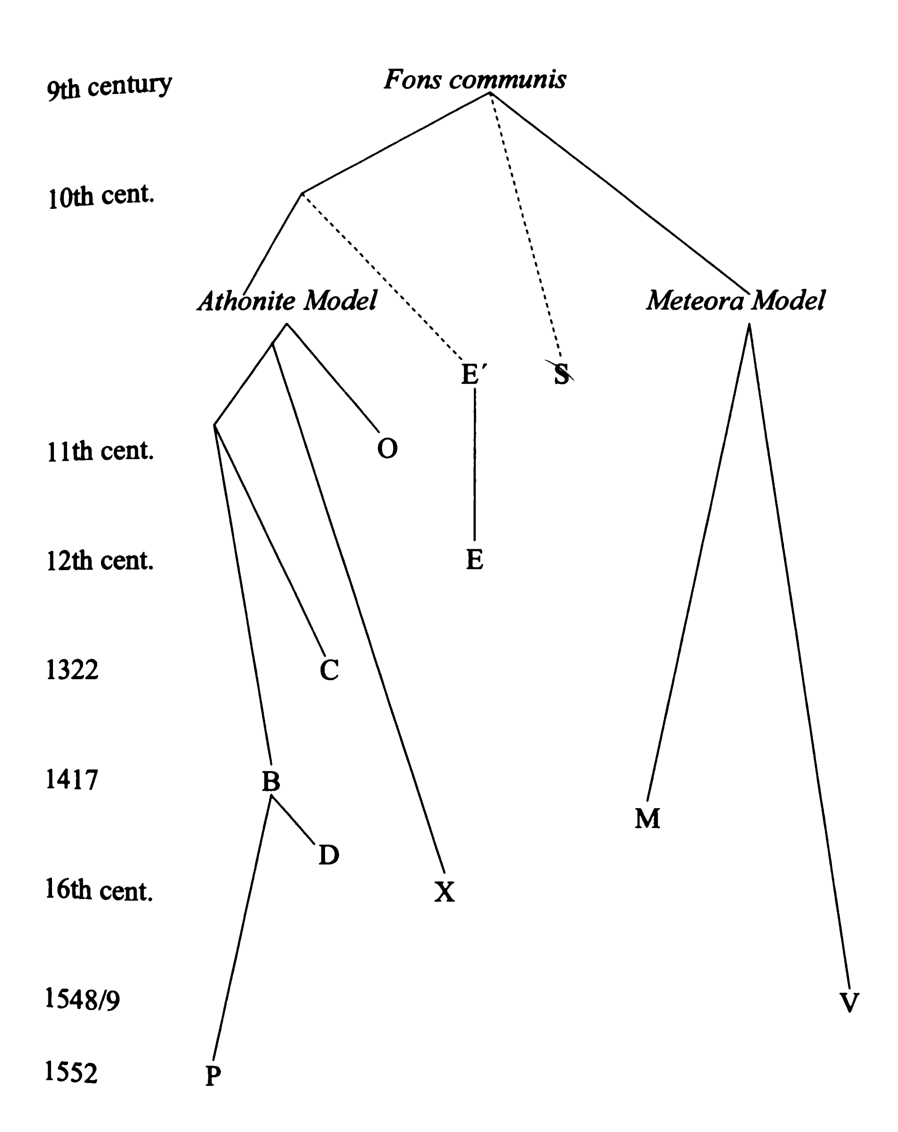
---

may be the result of misreading of an abbreviation: Chap. **21°17**: προετρέπετο BCXE] προέτρεπεν *cett.*

[20] E.g., E provides a τοῦ missing from all other manuscripts in Chap. **7°12**, and the right reading γραμματεῖον (γραμματῖον V) in Chap. **11°3** against γραμμάτιον of all other manuscripts. For reasons of clarity I have adopted its word order and variants in Chaps. **34°11** and **34°12** (τὸ ἴδιον) against all other manuscripts. Finally, E gives the variant Γὰς for the name of the assistant demon in Chap. **12°9**, for which see above Section 1b.4b (p. 30).

[21] See above pp. 119-120.

5c) *Stemma codicum*



E′ = complete text abridged by E.

* * *

6) PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

6a) The Text

It must be obvious by now that all but two of the available manuscripts are descended from two hyparchetypes which in themselves already contained a number of faults.[1] Also, it seems that BCX, more than any other manuscript, bare traces of editorial interventions intended to normalize the text. This is evident, for example, in the presence of two alternative sets of names of Emperors in Chap. **16**: Leo and Constantine in EOMV and Constantine and Justinian in BCX. As a result, it is difficult to claim that the original text has been completely restored. What the two families of manuscripts preserve is a text that is adequate and which most likely went through editorial interventions by the scribes who produced the two hyparchetypes. With this general principle in mind, I will try to base my own editorial choices on a number of particular considerations, including those described as follows.

As I have shown earlier in the Introduction, the text of *VLB* is an extremely well crafted piece of literature: the author makes extensive use of figures of speech and does not hesitate to play with them (especially by combining alliterations with *homoeoteleuta* or *homoearcha* and by employing a particular word order). In addition, the text is also deeply couched in liturgical literature and it would appear that the author spontaneously and/or unconsciously inserted stock phrases culled from hymnography and liturgy. For this reason I will adopt, for instance, the phrase: ταῖς τοῦ θεσπεσίου τοῦδε τοῦ Θεοῦ θεράποντος, which is transmitted only by E, and not the version ταῖς τοῦ θεσπεσίου τοῦδε transmitted by BCX, nor the reading ταῖς (*om.* M) τοῦ θεσπεσίου τοῦδε Θεοῦ (*om.* MV) θεράποντος of OMV. This example illustrates the predilection of the author for alliteration and here the words preserved only by E (τοῦ Θεοῦ) add one more theta-epsilon to a sentence that already abounds in theta-epsilons (full sentence: ταῖς τοῦ <u>θε</u>σπεσίου τοῦδε τοῦ <u>Θε</u>οῦ <u>θε</u>ράποντος <u>θε</u>ίαις προ-

[1] E.g. the readings in Chaps. **2**.15 (ἐν <ὑστέρ>οις καιροῖς: ἐν οἷς καιροῖς EVM] ἐν οἷς BCXO), **4**.7 (<ἄλλως> ὑπ' ἄλλων] ὑπ' ἀλλήλων *codd.*), and ἀφελῶν preserved by all existing witnesses in Chap. **15**.10, instead of the correct ἀνωφελῶν.

νοίαις ἀφιερωθέντος τοῦ τόπου...).[2] Furthermore, at least in this example, E, despite its inferior status, gives a text that flows smoothly with all articles appropriately placed — articles which, to a varying extent, are missing from all other manuscripts.

This last observation also highlights another principle governing this edition: preference will *usually* be given tc manuscripts that preserve more text even if in some cases the preferred manuscripts provide a text that is more embellished but not richer in information. Embellishing the text seems to be the primary concern of the author, and for this reason the reading: ἔτι τῶδε (δὲ τῶ V) τῶ βίω περιὼν καὶ μετὰ σώματος ὡς ἄγγελος τοῖς ἐν γῇ πολιτευόμενος of EMV, for example, will be given preference over the ἔτι τῶ βίω περιὼν ὡς ἄγγελος μετὰ σώματος of BCX. With this as a guiding principle, it becomes apparent that in establishing the text V and M are the two manuscripts that will receive preferential treatment: their scribes, despite their mediocre spelling work, usually provide a fuller text.[3] An additional argument in support of the predominance of MV as compared with BCX is the fact that MV provide a number of *lectiones difficiliores* as against those of BCX.[4]

Among the manuscripts of the Athonite family, BCX will also be taken into account. In many cases they preserve correct readings (especially spellings that are grammatically correct) as against the wrong readings and misspellings of EMV. Occasionally, the Athos manuscripts give us a word order that reads more easily, that "flows", than do the Meteora manuscripts. In these cases, and in order to avoid introducing one more subjective element — i.e., my personal sense of "fluidity," — in the reconstruction of the *VLB* text, I have decided to adopt almost exclusively[5] the word order provided by MV (and usually E).

In conclusion, apart from the above considerations, the following two principles will govern the present edition:

---

[2] For the same reason I will adopt in Chap. **31** the reading ἄφαντος ἄφνω πεφηνὼς ᾤχετο (alliteration of phi) of OMV instead of αὐτὸς ἀφανὴς ᾤχετο of B(DP) and ἀφανὴς αὐτὸς ᾤχετο of CX.

[3] For the agreement of MV with the small snippets preserved by the St. Petersburg palimpsest as an additional argument for the preferential treatment of them in this edition, see above p. 130.

[4] See Chap. **3**: ἀναμφίβολον BCX(DP)] ἀναμφίλεκτον VM(OE) || Chap. **6**: δεξάμενος BCDPX] ἐπειλημμένος OEVM] || Chap. **7**: προσιοῦσιν BCX(DP)] προσπελάζουσιν VM(OE) || Chap. **36**: ἐκδημίαν BC(DP)] ἐνδημίαν VM(O), etc.

[5] One minor exception is found in Chap. **34**.11, 12.

• A) With the exception of two cases of readings preserved by E[6] and one by M[7] the readings that occur in a single manuscript are ignored.

• B) The edition favors the text transmitted by OEVM, with the exception of a number of individual readings in which BCXOE agree against MV.[8] I have decided to include the variant readings of E but not to the extent of including even misspelled or erroneously separated or conjoined words, and I have also discarded D and P.[9]

With regard to accentuation, I am following the traditional accentuation system. Despite the inconsistency of the manuscripts on the subject, I have decided to include the ἐφελκυστικὸν nu (movable N) in the end of a word, when the next word begins with vowel, κ, and π,[10] or when it is followed by a full stop or comma.

Finally, I have ignored the edition by Latyšev for the following reasons: this edition is in fact a transcription of the text found in only one manuscript (O) with variant readings added after the completion of the work from a second manuscript (P). All Latyšev did, was correct and normalize the spelling of O,[11] insert three words in the text,[12] sequester another three,[13] and in a few cases suggest alternate readings.[14] Apart from the six words he added or eliminated, Latyšev made only one emendation proper within the text.[15]

On the other hand, it appears that Latyšev had already completed his work and sent it off to the publisher when he received the transcription of P with a number of variants that either corroborated his suggestions or

---

[6] Chaps. 7.12, and 34.11,12.

[7] Chap. 3.13.

[8] As a matter of fact, these cases are not that numerous. I have adopted the readings of BCXOE against those of MV in nine instances, while I have kept MV readings against those of BCXOE in three.

[9] As has been indicated above, their differences from B are very few and I have listed almost all of them in the parts of the previous Chapter where I study P and D.

[10] I opted for these two consonants because this is the rule followed with some consistency by the scribes that produced M and V.

[11] A considerable number of the readings in Latyšev's *apparatus criticus* consists of citations of misspelled words that in a modern *apparatus* are rather superfluous (e.g.: p. 12.3 καθιστορίασ τρόπων τῶι λόγωι, 12.10 πα|Νόρμου, 12.14 τόυνομα, 13.26 ποικί|Λων, 14.4 ἔ|Πειτα, 16.28 χρή σε: χρῆσαι *cod.*, etc.).

[12] LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, pp. 23.21, 26.4, and 26.34.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 13.20, 15.26. and 26.27.

[14] As in, for example, *ibid.* pp. 17.30, 18.8, 18.26, 20.37.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 15.11, were he emended the λαμπρότητα of O to λαμπρότατα, based on a similar passage in the synaxarion entry for Leo contained in a Byzantine Menologium he had edited (see above p. 28, n. 80).

proved his editorial choices wrong. For example, Latyšev removed a τε in the following phrase: διά [τε] τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξιάκουστον.[16] P reads διά γε τὸ τοῦ πραγμ. ἀξιάκ., which is better, while the fully restored sentence in the present edition reads διά τε τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξαίρετον καὶ τὸ τοῦ θαύματος ἀξιάκουστον. Another example is equally interesting: Latyšev kept the reading εὐθὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλίδος[17] without questioning its correctness. This is however, a well known proverbial expression (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βαλβῖδος) that is also present in the variant readings of P.[18] It has to be admitted, though, that Latyšev's transcription is accurate and diligent and, save for a rather tantalizing mistake[19] it is very useful in corroborating the readings of O itself.

6b) The Apparatus Criticus

The *apparatus criticus* includes the readings of eight manuscripts (BCEMOVX and S for small parts of Chapters **21**, **22**, **38**, and **39**). I indicate when there is any change in the manuscript basis, i.e., in the few cases in which a manuscript is not taken into account or is missing part of the relevant text (M or X). Although it may seem trivial, I always indicate those manuscripts that provide particular readings. With one or two exceptions — and only when a different spelling changes the syntax of a sentence — I have avoided including in the *apparatus criticus* any misspelled reading that sounds the same as the right reading (e.g. πιστῶς-πιστός, etc.). If I were to follow any other policy, the faulty grammar of the scribes of MV and E would swell the *apparatus criticus* beyond any reasonable size. Besides, I hope the information about the spelling particularities found in M and V in the description of the manuscripts above will suffice. In a number of instances, I have further explained my textual choices in notes to the appropriate words in the Commentary section of the book. Sometimes, I have even taken the exceptional step of providing notes with comments on variants rejected from the main text and relegated to the *apparatus criticus*. Since there is no single manuscript on which I have exclusively based my edition, I have not given the folio numbers of any manuscript in the margin of the Greek text.

---

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 15.26.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 14.18-19.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 13.12 μυθήματα instead of μαθήματα transmitted by O and all other mss.

On the subject of the textual relationship between the versions *BHG* 981, 981c-e and our version (*BHG* 981b), much has already been said above in 1b. Occasionally, if rarely, the text provided in these other versions of *LL* is also discussed in the Commentary whenever they offer an interesting variant. It is always possible to go back to part 1b of the book and combine what is discussed there with the sparse textual references to the *BHG* 981, 981c-e that are interspersed in the final notes. For this reason I have not included in the *conspectus siglorum* any abbreviation for these versions and none of their readings will appear in the *apparatus criticus*.

6c) The Translation

The *BHG* 981b version of *LL* is a text written in elegant and sophisticated ninth-century Byzantine Greek that sometimes presents a few difficulties in the attempt to maintain in English a level of erudite diction combined with an elaborate syntax. For this reason, we have tried to avoid any colloquialisms in our translation and maintain a level of language closer to that of the Greek original. At times, however, we have been forced to break long Greek sentences into smaller ones in order to make the meaning clear.

For the translation of quotations of the Biblical passages we have opted for the King James Version of the New Testament quotations, which in terms of style approximates better than any other translation the level of Greek of our text and, occasionally, when the King James is not accurate, the RSV. For the Old Testament quotations we have used the translation of Sir L. C.L Brenton.[20]

6d) The Fontes and Other Issues

With the exception of Biblical passages, I have decided not to include an *apparatus fontium* for the same reason that Rydén merged his *apparatus fontium* to the *Life of Andrew the Fool* with the notes to the translation. As the distinguished scholar of hagiography put it: "the distinction between quotations, allusions and more or less unconscious reminiscences is vague".[21] Instead, I have included in the comments at

[20] Sir L. C.L. BRENTON, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London, 1851, 9th printing, USA, 2001).

[21] L. RYDÉN, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, vol. 1 [Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4.1-2] (Uppsala, 1995), p. 146.

the end quotations (sometimes extensive and, occasionally, translated into English) of parallels and possible sources.

Concerning the Biblical quotations, I have italicized them both in the Greek text and in the English translation and indicated their provenance with notes included in the Commentary, whenever the Biblical citation is not *verbatim*. I have tried to indicate even possible echoes of Biblical passages (usually signaled by a cf. followed by the relevant Biblical passage in the notes), but, unfortunately, since most of the liturgical texts and Byzantine hymnography and hagiography are not yet included in the *TLG* database, I was forced to confine myself to what was available: otherwise the completion of this book would have taken more time. It is my conviction, though, that many Biblical quotations and especially those unconscious echoes of them that appear in Byzantine texts, and especially in Hagiography, come from liturgical texts, not directly from the Bible.

Concerning other textual sources, I have tried, with the help of the *TLG*, and of the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database to be as exhaustive as possible which means that sometimes the reader may find my comments on the sources exceedingly detailed. In a number of instances these parallels have helped in elucidating the meaning and even in offering suggestions for the restoration of the original text.

The reader will easily realize how much this edition owes to A. Acconcia Longo's work. Irrespective of the differences in our approach and understanding of the *Life of Leo,* her work has been enormously useful, so a number of references to her comments and sometimes even to the text of *BHG* 981 (*VLA*) have been inserted in the Commentary of this edition.

Words and names have been indexed together in the general index. The list of names is complete, whereas the vocabulary I decided to index is rather arbitrary and subjective. I have tried, however to include as much as possible. My indexes also include an index of Biblical quotations and one that contains all the primary sources mentioned in the Commentary and elsewhere in this book.

* * *

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Conspectus siglorum

B Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 636 (AD 1417), fols. 301-321^{v}
C Athos, Μονὴ Δοχειαρίου 78 (Lambros 2752) (AD 1322), fols. 300-317
E Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, y. II. 6 (Gr. 314) (XIIth cent.), fols. 330^{v}-347^{v}
M Meteora, Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως 98 (XIVth-XVth cent.), fols. 164-185^{v}
O Moscow, Gosudarcvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Synod. Gr. 161 (Vlad. 379) (XIth cent.), fols. 225^{v}-239
S St. Petersburg, Rossiiskaya Nazional'naya Biblioteka Gr. 82 (late Xth – early XIth cent.), fols. 234^{rv} and 241^{rv}
V Meteora, Μονὴ Βαρλαὰμ 150 (AD 1548/9), fols. 162^{v}-175^{v}
X Athos, Μονὴ Ξηροποτάμου 135 (Lambros 2468) (XVIth cent.), fols. 256^{v}-282^{v}

ΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ
ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΥΜΑΤΟΥΡΓΟΥ
ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΝΗΣ

1. Τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀξιάγαστον Λέοντα, τὸν περιβόητον πρόεδρον τῆς Καταναίων περιφανοῦς μητροπόλεως, *ἀνατάξασθαι*[a] τὰ νῦν προτραπείς, δεῖν εἶναι[1] ᾠήθην πρότερον περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καθ' ἱστορίας τρόπον[2] τῷ λόγῳ διαλαβεῖν. Γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν[3] οὕτως οὐκ ἄχαρις ἡ *διήγησις*[a] οὐδὲ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐκπίπτουσα τάξεως, εἰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὴν[4] γλῶτταν πρῶτον[5] κινήσομεν[6], ἀξιάκουστά τινα[7] δήπου τυγχάνοντα καὶ[8] ἀξιοθαύμαστα· ἃ καί, ὡς εἰκός, ἀκουόμενα καὶ λαλούμενα[9] τοῖς εἰδόσι μὲν[10] ἔσται πάντως ἀνάμνησις, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι δὲ μάθησις,[11] καὶ ἀμφοτέροις[12] ὠφελείας, οἶμαι, πρόξενα καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια. Ἔχει δὲ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὕτως.

2. Ἐν ὁρίοις τῆς[1] Πανόρμου κατὰ τὴν περιώνυμον νῆσον, Σικελίαν[2] καλουμένην,[3] πόλις[4] ἐστὶν ἐπίσημος, προσαγορευομένη Κατάνη, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ἀγαθώνυμος παρθενόμαρτυς Ἀγάθη[5] τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας διήθλησεν ἀγῶνα. Καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ Αἰτναῖον[6] εἰς θαῦμα θρυλλούμενον ἔτι καὶ νῦν καταρρεῖ πῦρ ἐξ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὄρους λίαν ὑπερανεστηκότος,[7,8] ὅπερ εἰς ἔνδειξιν, οἶμαι, μᾶλλον δὲ[9] βεβαίωσιν ἐναργῆ καὶ ἔλεγχον τῶν τολμώντων διαπιστεῖν τῇ γεέννῃ παρὰ τῆς πάντα[10] συμφερόντως διεπούσης προνοίας ἀναβράσσεσθαι[11] διῳκονομήθη.[12] Τοῦτο καί τινες τῶν ἑλληνικῇ[13] δεισιδαιμονίᾳ δεινῶς κεκρατημένων Ἡφαίστου κρατῆρας κατονομάσαι διέγνωσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν βρυγμῷ φρικώδει καὶ καταπλήκτῳ λίαν,[14]

[a] Cf. Luc 1:1

BCXO E MV

Titulus. *Praep.* τῶ αὐτῶ μηνὶ κ´ λόγος ιδ´ φύλλα κα´ *B*, τῶ αὐτῶ (φεβρου[αρίῳ] *supra lineam*) μηνὶ κ´ λόγος λ´ κ´ ςτ *C*, μηνὶ τῶ αὐτῶ κ´ φύλλα κα´ *X*, μηνὶ φευρουρίῳ κ´ φύλλα ιγ´ *O*, τῶ αὐτῶ μη(νὶ) κα´ *V*, φύλλα ιζ´ *in marg. infer. C*, φύλλα ιγ´ *in marg. infer. V* || καὶ θαυματουργοῦ *om. E*, θαυματ. *add.* τοῦ *M*, Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λέοντος ἐπισκόπου Κατάνης *BCXO* || *add.*: εὐλόγησον πάτερ *BC M*, δέσποτα εὐλόγησον *E*, εὐλόγησον *XV*

1. [1] εἶναι: *om. MV*, διένοήθην *E* (δῆν ὠήθϋν *M*) || [2] τρόπον: τρόπω *X*, τρόπων *O V* || [3] ἂν: *om. E* || [4] αὐτὰ τὴν: αὐτὴν *E* || [5] πρῶτον: *om. MV* || [6] κινήσομεν: -ωμεν *E*, ἀφήσωμεν *X* (-ομεν) *BCO* || [7] τινα: *om. B* || [8] τυγχάνοντα καὶ: *om. E* || [9] λαλούμενα: λεγόμενα *E* || [10] εἰδόσι μὲν: μ. εἰδ. *BCX* || [11] τοῖς – μάθησις: *om. V*, δὲ *om. E* || [12] ἀμφοτέροις: ἀφωτέροις *M*

LIFE AND CONDUCT OF OUR FATHER AMONG THE SAINTS AND MIRACLE-WORKER LEO ARCHBISHOP OF CATANIA

1. *Prologue*

Since I have been presently urged to recount the [deeds] of the admirable Leo, the famous bishop of the renowned metropolis of Catania, I thought I should first include in my account, following the pattern of historical [writing, information] about the city itself and its inhabitants. In this way, the narrative would not be graceless, nor would its sequence of events be disrupted if I set my tongue in motion concerning these [subjects] first, for they are, I presume, worth hearing and admiring. Once [the narrative] has been heard and spoken properly, it will certainly be a reminder for the knowledgeable, a lesson for the ignorant, and for both, I suppose, it will be beneficial and praiseworthy. So the story goes like this.

2. *Catania and Aetna*

On the borders of Panormon, on the famous island called Sicily, lies a remarkable city named Catania, in which the aptly-named virgin martyr Agatha competed in the contest for immortality. Aetnian fire even now rushes down into the city from over the mountaintop rising high above, and is still talked about with awe. The providence that governs all expediently provided [this fire] to seethe as a demonstration, I suppose, or rather as a visible confirmation and refutation of those who dare to disbelieve in Gehenna. Some persons horribly enslaved by pagan superstition decided to name this [volcano], "the craters of Hephaestus." For with a really terrible and awesome roar, the violently seething and over

---

BCXO E MV

2. [1] τῆς: *om. BCXO E* || [2] νῆσον Σικελίαν: Σ. ν. *O* || [3] καλουμένην: *om. BCXO* || [4] πόλις: *add.* τις *BCXO* || [5] Ἀγάθη: *post* ἀγῶνα *transp. E* || [6] Αἰτναῖον: *add.* ὄρος *E* || [7] ἐξ – ὑπερανεστηκότος: *ante* εἰς θαῦμα *transp. BCXO* || [8] ὑπερανεστηκότος: -ες *M* || [9] οἶμαι – δὲ: μᾶλλον δὲ οἶμαι εἰς *E* || [10] πάντα: -τας *E* || [11] ἀναβράσσεσθαι: -σασθαι *E M* || [12] διῳκονομήθη: *add.* εἰ *V* || [13] ἑλληνικῇ: ἑλλίνων *E* || [14] καταπλήκτῳ λίαν: καταπλήττει λίαν *E*, λ. κατ. *BCX*

ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐν <ὑστέρ>οις[15] καιροῖς[a] ἀναβρασσόμενον[16] ἐξαισίως καὶ[17] ὑπερχεόμενον περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδας καταφέρεται, τῷ ῥοίζῳ τῆς ἀκατασχέτου ῥύμης τὰ συμπαρακείμενα πάντα καταφλέγον ἑκατέρωθεν[18] μέρη, καὶ αὐτήν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν πόλιν ἀπειλοῦν ἄρδην ἀποτεφροῦν καὶ ἐξαφανίζειν.[19]

3. Ἔνθα λέγεται καί τινα[1] τῶν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ[2] πάλαι βεβοημένων ἑλληνικῇ[3] δειναῖς ἐξαπάταις δαιμονίων[4] ἐξηνδραποδισμένον, Ἐμπεδοκλέα τοὔνομα,[5] ἀποθεωθῆναι θελήσαντα καὶ δόξης ἰσοθέου ἐπιθυμήσαντα κατ' αὐτὸ[6] τὸ στόμιον ἑαυτὸν[7] λεληθότως ἐξακοντίσαι, ὥστε τῷ[8] ἀφανεῖ[9] τοῦ τολμήματος δόξαι[10] παρά τισιν ἐκ γῆς ἀνειλῆφθαι καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις δῆθεν θεοῖς[11] ἐξομοιωθῆναι. Ἀλλ' ἡ θεία δίκη[12] λαθεῖν οὐκ εἴασεν τοῦ κενοῦ φιλοσόφου τὸ μάταιον σόφισμα· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἀξίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ματαιόφρονος γνώμης τοιαύτην[13] ποινὴν εἰσπράττεται,[14] τῷ παμφάγῳ πυρὶ καταναλωθείς, ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιος, καὶ πρὸς πῦρ παραπεμφθεὶς[15] ἀτελεύτητον, ὁ δὲ τούτου σάνδαλος[16] ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξεβράσθη παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἀπερρίφη, πρὸς ἔλεγχον[17] ἀναμφίλεκτον[18] τοῦ διακενῆς ψευδώνυμον ἰσοθεΐαν νοσήσαντος καὶ δυστυχῶς ἀδοξήσαντος.[19] Οἱ δέ γε τῷ μύθῳ[20] διδόντες ἄδειαν, ἐκ γῆς γεγεννῆσθαι[21] καὶ ἀναδίδοσθαι[22] γένος γιγάντων ἀναπλάττοντες, καὶ τοῦτο[23] συμμυθολογεῖν καὶ συμπαραληρεῖν[24] ἔδοξαν, γίγαντά τινα παλαμναῖον μυθολογοῦντες[25] τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομιζομένων θεῶν[26] ἀντίθεον γεγενημένον ἐναπορριφῆναι[27] πάλαι[28] τῷ τοιούτῳ τῆς Αἴτνης[29] πυρὶ[30] πρὸς τιμωρητικὴν ἄμυναν, κἀκείνου τὸν βρυγμὸν εἶναι καὶ[31] τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεμπόμενον πατάγῳ[32] παραπλήσιον[33] ἀναβρασμὸν βίαιον.[34]

[a] 1 Ti 4:1

BCXO E MV

[15] ἐν <ὑστέρ>οις καιροῖς: ἐν οἷς καιροῖς *E MV*, ἐν οἷς *BCXO* || [16] ἀναβρασσόμενον: ἀναβράζει *E* || [17] ἐξαισίως καὶ: *om. E* || [18] ἑκατέρωθεν: τὰ ἑκάτερα *E* || [19] ἐξαφανίζειν: ἀφαν- *E*, ἀμφαν- *M*

3. [1] τινα: τινας *E* || [2] φιλοσοφίᾳ: σοφία *E* || [3] ἑλληνικῇ: ἑλλήνων *BCX* || [4] δαιμονίων: δαιμόνιον *E*, δαιμόνων *M* || [5] Ἐμπεδοκλέα τοὔνομα: *om. E MV* || [6] κατ' αὐτὸ: κατὰ τὸ *E* || [7] ἑαυτὸν: *om. E* || [8] τῷ: τὸ *O V* || [9] ἀφανεῖ: ἀμφανεῖ *M* || [10] δόξαι: δεῖξαι *O*, δόξα *E* || [11] δῆθεν θεοῖς: θ. δ. *E* || [12] Ἀλλ' – δίκη: ἀλλὴθεί δίκην *M* || [13] τοιαύτην: ταύτην *BCXO E V* || [14] εἰσπράττεται: εἰσδέχεται *E* || [15] παραπεμφθεὶς: παραμπεμφθῆς *M* || [16] σάνδαλος: σάντ- *E*, σκάνδ- *V* || [17] ἔλεγχον: ἔλεκτον *M* || [18] ἀναμφίλεκτον: ἀναμφίβολον *BCX*, ἀφίλεκτον *E*, ἀναφίλεκτον *M* || [19] καὶ – ἀδοξήσαντος: *om. C*

flowing [lava] now and then, even in *latter times*, flows down to the base of the mountain, burns up all the adjacent areas with its rush and uncontrollable flow, and, indeed, threatens entirely to destroy and incinerate, so to speak, the city itself.

3. *Empedocles, mythological giants and Aetna*

There it is also said that someone among those who had been famous long ago for [their acquaintance with] Greek philosophy was enslaved by the terrible deception of the demons. Empedocles was his name and he wished to be deified. So, desiring a godlike glory, he secretly hurled himself forth into the very mouth [of the volcano]. [He hoped that] by his daring act, which he performed in secret, he might give the impression to some that he had been taken up from the earth and that [he had] become, from that time on, like the so-called gods. But divine justice did not permit the fraudulent hoax of this vain philosopher to go unnoticed. For he received such a punishment worthy of his own foolish thought. Incinerated by the all-consuming fire, just as he deserved, [Empedocles] was sent down to the eternal flame. His sandal, however, was immediately thrown up by the eruption of the fire and cast out [of the volcano] as an indisputable conviction of one who vainly suffered from a godlike delusion and unluckily came to a miserable and disgraceful end. But those who give credence to myth, inventing a race of giants who were begotten and issued from the earth, appear also to tell myths and talk nonsense with respect to this: they tell a myth about some accursed giant who was an anti-god of the gods in whom they believe, and who was [apparently] thrown down long ago into this Aetnian fire as an act of punishment. They also thought that the roar [of that giant] was also the seething sound that emanated from the [volcano] and sounded like a violent crash.

BCXO E MV

[20] τῷ μύθῳ: τῶ μύθει *E*, τῶν μύθων *V* || [21] γεγεννῆσθαι: γεννῆσθαι *V* || [22] ἀναδίδοσθαι: ἀναδεδόσθαι *BCX* || [23] τοῦτο: τὸ *O* || [24] καὶ τοῦτο – συμπαραληρεῖν: *om. BCX* || [25] μυθολογοῦντες: *om. BCX* || [26] τῶν ... νομιζομένων θεῶν: τὸν ... νομιζόμενον θεὸν *E* || [27] ἐναπορριφῆναι: ἐν ἀπορριφῆναι *O* || [28] πάλαι: πάλλιν *M* || [29] πάλαι – Αἴτνης: πάλιν τὸν τοιοῦτον τῆ Αἴτνη *V* || [30] πυρί: *om. MV* || [31] καὶ: *om. MV* || [32] πατάγῳ: πάταγον *E* || [33] παραπλήσιον *add.* καὶ *V* || [34] παραπλήσιον – βίαιον *om. E*

4. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μῦθοι κακοδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ δαιμόνων[1] δεινῶν[2] ἀναπλάσματα καὶ μαθήματα,[3] ὧνπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμνήσθημεν, ὅσον ἱκανὸν[4] καταγνῶναι τῆς ἐκείνων[5] ψευδολατρείας καὶ φρενοβλαβείας,[6] <ἄλλως> ὑπ' ἄλλων[7] πολεμουμένης καὶ καταβαλλομένης καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀνατρεπομένης ἑκάστοτε. Ἡμῖν[8] δὲ τοῖς[9] τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεογνωσίας μυσταγωγοῖς καὶ μύσταις[10] τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας ἀρκέσει πρὸς σωτηρίαν διδάγματα, δι' ὧν[11] ὁ *κατὰ θεὸν κτιζόμενος* καὶ *καινοποιούμενος* ἐν Χριστῷ καταρτίζεται *ἄνθρωπος*,[a] περὶ οὗ προϊὼν ὁ λόγος δηλώσει σαφέστατα, εἰς μέσον πᾶσι προθείς,[12] ὡς μέγιστον ἀρχέτυπον εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀληθείας στήλην λαμπρὰν καὶ ἀθάνατον, τὸν ἀξιέραστον βίον καὶ τρόπον τοῦ ἀξιαγάστου[13] Θεοῦ θεράποντος Λέοντος, Λέοντος,[14] τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν *δικαίου πεφηνότος*[b] καὶ *πεποιθότος ὡς λέοντος*.[15, c] Λέοντος, λέγω, τοῦ γεγονότος[16] προέδρου τῆς εἰρημένης Καταναίων μητροπόλεως.[17] Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ θεοφόρος[18] τῷ ὄντι ποιμὴν καὶ θεοπρόβλητος τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμπτήρ, ὁ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας ἐραστὴς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόκιμος διαιτητής, ὁ τῶν θεολέκτων προσταγμάτων[19] ἀκριβὴς ἐκπληρωτὴς καὶ[20] τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ἀσφαλὴς ἐκζητητής,[21] ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων μιμητὴς[22] καὶ τῶν *πατρικῶν παραδόσεων ζηλωτής*,[d] ὁ τῶν πενήτων προνοητὴς καὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐκδικητής, ὁ τῶν ποικίλων χαρισμάτων ταμίας,[23] ὁ[24] τῶν μεγίστων τεραστίων ἐργάτης, ὁ τῆς ἐπουρανίου πόλεως πολίτης[25] *καὶ τῶν ἁγίων* ἁπάντων[26] *συμπολίτης*,[e] οὗτος τὸ μὲν σωματικὸν[27] γένος ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ῥαβεννησίων περιωνύμου μητροπόλεως κατάγων γινώσκεται,[28] εὐγενῶν γονέων γόνος[29] ἐκφὺς εὐγενέστερος·[30] τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, καὶ ὃ πάντες οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' ἐναρέτου πολιτείας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπεγράψαντο[31] ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν συγγενείας διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναγεννήσεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου εἰσπεποιημένον αὐτῷ, ἀνόθευτον ἔσχε[32] καὶ ἀπαραποίητον, πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἀπηκριβωμένον κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ὁμοιότητα.[33] Ὃς δι' ὑπερβαλλούσης ἀρετῆς τελείαν ἀκρότητα καὶ βίου περιδόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν, δι' ὧν τὸ πρακτικὸν εἶδος τῷ θεωρητικῷ θαυμασίως οἶδε συμπλέκεσθαι,[34] πρῶτα[35] μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν[36] τῆς ἐκκλησίας

[a] Cf. Eph 4:24 [b] Cf. Iob 32:2 [c] Cf. Prov 28:1 [d] Gal 1:14 [e] Cf. Eph 2:19

BCXO E MV

4. [1] ἀνδρῶν – δαιμόνων: *om. O V* || [2] καὶ – δεινῶν: *om. BCX* || [3] μαθήματα: *an legendum* κενοπαθήματα *sicut in* Sexti Empirici *Adversus Mathematicos* 8.354.5? || [4] ἱκανὸν: *om. BCXO E* || [5] ἐκείνων: -νου *O* || [6] καὶ φρενοβλαβείας: *om. BCXO* || [7] <ἄλλως> ὑπ' ἄλλων: ὑπ' ἀλλήλων *codd.* || [8] ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν *CX* || [9] τοῖς: τοὺς *O*, τῆς *M* || [10] μυσταγωγοῖς καὶ μύσταις: μύσταις καὶ μυσταγ- *BCX* || [11] ὧν: *add.* καὶ *X* || [12] προθεὶς: προτιθεὶς *O E* || [13] ἀξιαγάστου: *om. E* || [14] Λέοντος: *om. E M*

4. *Praise, childhood and early career of Leo*

But these [myths] are tales of men possessed by evil spirits and the fantasies and teachings of wicked demons. We recalled them in the present [time] in order to condemn their false worship and insanity, which in many ways is being confronted and overthrown by others, and which is easily refuted on each occasion. But the lessons from true wisdom will suffice to save those of us who are initiates and mystagogues of the true knowledge of God, for through [these lessons] man, created in the likeness of God and renewed in Christ, is edified. As this narrative proceeds, it will clearly present [an example of such a renewed man], by setting forth before all, as the greatest archetype of piety and shining, immortal monument to truth, the worthy life and conduct of the admirable servant of God, Leo; Leo, who, in the words of divine scripture, truly *justified himself* and *was confident as a lion*. Leo, I say, who became bishop of the aforementioned metropolis of Catania. For this truly God-inspired shepherd and God-elected beacon of the church, lover of true wisdom, and esteemed arbiter of justice, scrupulous fulfiller of God-chosen commands and steadfast seeker of orthodox doctrine, imitator of the apostles, *zealous of the traditions of* the *Fathers*, provider for the poor and avenger of the wronged, treasurer of various [spiritual] gifts, worker of the greatest miracles, citizen of the heavenly city and *fellow citizen with* all *the saints*, this man, as is known, traces his physical lineage to the famous metropolis of Ravenna – a child of noble parents, who became even nobler – and his spiritual [lineage] (in which all Christians have registered themselves by their virtuous conduct) to the kinship above, through a spiritual rebirth and a life lived in accordance with virtue. Leo preserved the spiritual lineage pure and unaffected, and it was made perfect by its close resemblance to the angels. First, Leo was chosen by all the select members of the church because of the complete perfection of his extraordinary virtue and the wondrous scrupulousness of his glorious life – by which qualities the practical form knows how to be perfectly combined with the contempla-

---

BCXO E MV

[15] λέοντος: λέων *E* || [16] γεγονότος: *om. E* || [17] Λέοντος – μητροπόλεως: *om. BCXO* || [18] θεοφόρος: θεόσοφος *V* || [19] προσταγμάτων: πραγμάτων *E* || [20] καὶ: *add.* τῆς *M* || [21] καὶ – ἐκζητητής: *om. E* || [22] τῶν ἀποστόλων μιμητὴς: μ. τ. ἀπ. *BCXO* || [23] ὁ – ταμίας: *om. E* || [24] ὁ: καὶ *BCXO* || [25] πολίτης: ποιητῆς *E* || [26] ἁπάντων: *om. E* || [27] σωματικὸν: *om. E* || [28] γινώσκεται: πιστεύεται *BCXO*, *add.* ἐξ *E* || [29] γόνος: *om. E* || [30] εὐγενέστερος: -τατος *V* || [31] ἐπεγράψαντο: -ατο *M* || [32] ἔσχε: *om. BCXO* || [33] τὸ δὲ πνευματικὸν – ὁμοιότητα: *om. E* || [34] συμπλέκεσθαι: -σται *M* || [35] πρῶτα: πρῶτον *E*

λογάδων ἐκλεγείς,[37] ἄξιος ἐκρίθη τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν φροντίδα καὶ διοίκησιν ἀναδέξασθαι, φημὶ δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν[38] πατρίδα, *πιστὸς* καὶ *φρόνιμος* ὡς ἀληθῶς *οἰκονόμος* καὶ ὢν καὶ δεικνύμενος, *τούς τε λόγους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομεῖν ἐν κρίσει*[a] καλῶς εἰδὼς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπίσης[39] τοῖς συνδούλοις διακονῶν καὶ διανέμων τὸ δεσποτικὸν *σιτομέτριον.*[40, b]

5. Ἔπειτα δὲ[1] διὰ πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν βαθμῶν[2] ἐννόμως καὶ κανονικῶς κατὰ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν τῶν πατέρων παράδοσιν ἀκολούθως ἐπαναχθεὶς[3] θείᾳ ψήφῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ,[4] ποιμὴν καὶ πρόεδρος τῆς Καταναίων περιφανοῦς[5] μητροπόλεως ἀναδείκνυται. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ συνέβη Σαβῖνον, τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν διϊθύνοντα θρόνον,[6] τὸν παρόντα βίον ὑπεξελθεῖν, ἅπαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὸ πλήρωμα τῆσδε[7] τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑφ' ἑνὶ συνθήματι[8] συναθροισθὲν *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,*[c] τὸν[9] ἄξιον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης[10] ἐπεζήτει, ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεμεριμνημένως[11] πάνυ διασκοπούμενον, ὥστε τὸν[12] κρείττονα[13, 14] τῶν πολλῶν ἢ καὶ[15] πάντων ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προστήσασθαι καὶ μηδαμῶς τὰ δεύτερα τῆς ἐκείνου κατ' ἀρετὴν ὁσιότητος φέροντα.[16] Ταῦτα δὴ καλῶς βουλευσάμενοι[17] τοῦ κατ' ἐλπίδα σκοποῦ οὐ διήμαρτον· θεία γάρ τις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ῥοπὴ καὶ νεῦσις οὐράνιος τὴν ἑκάστου καρδίαν ἀθρόον[18] κεκίνηκεν, ὥστε σύμφωνον πάντας ὁμοῦ καὶ ὁμόψηφον τὴν τοῦ μακαρίτου τοῦδε[19] ἐκλογὴν καὶ προβολὴν ποιήσασθαι.

6. Οὕτω τοίνυν Θεοῦ συνεργίᾳ[1] καὶ βουλῇ κρείττονι τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὁλκάδος[2] οἴακας ὁ καλὸς *κυβερνήτης*[d] ἐπειλημμένος,[3] ἔδειξεν εὐθὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς[4] τῆς βαλβῖδος[5] καὶ τὸ τῆς ποιμαντικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπιστημονικώτατον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχικῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀξιολογώτατον, δι' ὧν ποικίλοις[6] τρόποις ἐμμελοῦς καλοκἀγαθίας σπουδαίως ἐπαγρυπνῶν ἀνεπιβούλευτον τὸ ποίμνιον διατηρεῖν ἐπετήδευεν,[7] ὥστε καὶ τῶν φανερῶς πολεμεῖν ἑλομένων καὶ τῶν ἀφανῶς[8] ἐπιβουλεύειν μελετώντων ἐχθρῶν εὐπετῶς τὰς προσβολὰς ἀποκρούεσθαι. *Δίκαιος* γὰρ *χρηματίσας*[e] τῷ ὄντι

[a] Cf. Ps 111:5 [b] Cf. Luc 12:42 [c] Cf. inter plura 1 Co 11:20 [d] Cf. Mac IV 7:1 [e] Iob 40:8

BCXO E MV

[36] τῶν: *om. C MV* || [37] ἐκλεγείς: *om. E* || [38] οἰκείαν: οἰκίαν *O* || [39] ἐπίσης: ἐπ' ἴσης *V* || [40] σιτομέτριον: σιτηρέσιον *MV*

5. [1] δὲ: *add.* καὶ *M* || [2] βαθμῶν: *om. X* || [3] ἐπαναχθεὶς: *an* ἐπενεχθεὶς *legendum?* || [4] ἀνθρωπίνῃ: *add.* καὶ *X* || [5] περιφανοῦς: *om. M* || [6] τὸν[2] – θρόνον: ἐπίσκοπον *E* || [7] τῆσδε: *om. E* || [8] ὑφ' – συνθήματι: *om. E* || [9] τὸν: τὸ *O* || [10] ἀρχιερωσύνης: ἱερωσύνης *E* || [11] μεμεριμνημένως: μεριμνημένως *E* || [12] τὸν: *om. M* || [13] κρείττονα: -ττω *BCX* || [14] τὸν κρείττονα: *om. E* || [15] καὶ: *om. B*

tive – and was deemed worthy to assume responsibility and administration for the ecclesiastical affairs, I mean, of his homeland [i.e. Ravenna]. For Leo both was [in fact] and presented himself as a truly *faithful* and *prudent manager*, knowing well how to *direct his affairs with judgment*, serving all the fellow servants equally, and distributing the Lord's *allowance of food*.

5. *Leo succeeds Sabinus as the bishop of Catania*

Next, Leo was raised through all the sacred ranks legally and canonically, consistent with the ecclesiastical model from its origins and the traditions of the fathers. So, Leo was appointed by divine rather than human decree as shepherd and primate of the renowned metropolis of Catania. Because, after Sabinus, his predecessor on the episcopal throne, departed from the present life, the whole congregation of that church, so to speak, assembled *together* as if by one prearranged signal, to find the one worthy of the archbishopric [of Sabinus]. They investigated very carefully and mindfully, so as to appoint one better than many or even than all before him, [one who would] not take second place to the virtuous holiness of Sabinus. After they deliberated these matters carefully, they did not fail to achieve their goal, for a certain divine, so to speak, intervention and a heavenly sign simultaneously moved the heart of each one, so that they all together made the harmonious choice and unanimous appointment of this blessed man.

6. *Leo, the spiritual leader*

Therefore, through the cooperation and best counsel of God, the *first-rate pilot* seized the helm of the ecclesiastical ship and immediately displayed from the beginning the wisest pastoral practice and the most commendable spiritual freedom. Through these qualities and through the various methods of his diligent virtue, [Leo] kept a vigilant eye and earnestly sought to keep his flock unharmed, so that he could readily thwart the assaults of enemies who choose to attack openly and who plot in secret. Since Leo *was* truly *a just man* in all sorts of God-pleasing

---

BCXO E MV

[16] φέροντα: -ωνται *M* || [17] βουλευσάμενοι: -μένου *M* || [18] ἀθρόον: ἀθρόως *X M* || [19] τὴν τοῦ μακαρίτου τοῦδε: τοῦ μακαρίτου τοῦδε τὴν *BCX*

6. [1] συνεργίᾳ: -εία *MV* || [2] ὁλκάδος: -ας *O* || [3] ἐπειλημμένος: δεξάμενος *BCX* || [4] εὐθὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς: ἐξ αὐ. εὐ. *BCX* || [5] βαλβῖδος: βασιλίδος *O* || [6] ποικίλοις: *add.* τρο ποικίλοις X || [7] ἐπετήδευεν: ἐπιτήδ.- *X*, ἐπετήδευσεν *E* || [8] ἀφανῶς: ἀμφανῶς *M*

πᾶσι τρόποις θεαρέστων ἔργων καὶ λόγων[9] κατὰ τὰ λόγια,[10] καὶ φερωνύμως ὡς *λέων πεποιθὼς*[a] τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῆς πίστεως πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐφόδους ἀπτόητος ἵστατο, βασιλικῷ τῷ βρυχήματι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων καταπλήττων τολμηρὰν ματαιότητα καὶ θρασύτητα,[11] Ἑλλήνων μὲν τὸ[12] μυθῶδες διελέγχων[13] ὡς ἀπατηλὸν καὶ κίβδηλον, αἱρέσεων[14] δὲ τὸ τῆς βεβήλου κενοφωνίας ἀνατρέπων σαθρὸν καὶ κακόδοξον· ἐν οἷς διέλαμπε δίκην *φωστῆρος ἐν κόσμῳ, λόγον ἐπέχων ζωῆς*,[15, b] ψυχῶν ἐπιμελούμενος,[16] πενήτων προϊστάμενος, ὀρφανῶν προμηθούμενος, χηρῶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος, ἀδικουμένων ἀντιποιούμενος,[17] καταπονουμένων ἀντεχόμενος καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν περιστάσει καὶ χρείᾳ παντοδαπῇ κατάλληλον πρόνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος,[18] *πᾶσιν τὰ*[19] *πάντα γενόμενος*[20, c] ἀποστολικῷ παραδείγματι, ὥστε *κερδῆσαι πάντας ἢ πλείονας*.[d]

7. Οὐ λόγοις[1] δὲ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τῆς[2] πλάνης ὑπασπιστῶν ἀριστεύειν ᾤετο δεῖν, ἀλλά γε καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῖς[3] τὸ κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας κράτος ἔσπευδεν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.[4] Τούτων ἀψευδὴς ἀπόδειξις τὸ διὰ προσευχῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύων δίχα[5] μηχανημάτων καθαιρεθὲν εἰδωλικὸν κίβδηλον,[6] τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ δὲ τροπαιοφόρον[7] σημεῖον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐνιδρυθέν,[8] ὅπερ πάλαι μὲν ὑπῆρχεν ἀναστηλωθὲν ὕπερθεν πολυκύκλου[9] στοᾶς ἑλληνικῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσμενεστάτου τυράννου Δεκίου ἀθέως θεοποιούμενον.[10] Ἐξ ἐκείνου δέ, ταῖς[11] τοῦ θεσπεσίου τοῦδε *τοῦ*[12] *θεοῦ*[13] *θεράποντος*[14, e] θείαις προνοίαις[15] ἀφιερωθέντος τοῦ τόπου[16] πρὸς *θεοῦ κατοικητήριον*[f] καὶ ναὸν ἅγιον, μαρτύριον χρηματίζει πάνυ τερπνότατον καὶ πανίερον[17] τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μεγάλων ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ μέγιστον ἔργον γεγένηται[18] παρὰ[19] τῆς ἐκείνου φιλοπόνου σπουδῆς καὶ προμηθείας,[20] ἀλλά γε καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ[21] Χριστοῦ παρθενομάρτυρι Λουκίᾳ κάλλιστος ἀνῳκοδόμηται[22] ναὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος, τοῖς αὐτοῦ φιλοτεχνήμασιν καὶ φιλοπονήμασιν εἰς κάλλος καὶ

[a] Cf. Prov 28:1 [b] Cf. Phil 2:15-16 [c] Cf. 1 Co 9:22 [d] Cf. 1 Co 9:19 [e] Cf. Par I 16:40
[f] Cf. Eph 2:22

BCXO E MV

[9] καὶ λόγων: *om. BCXO* || [10] θεαρέστων – λόγια: *om. E* || [11] βασιλικῷ – καὶ θρασύτητα: *om. E*, καὶ θρασύτητα: *om. M* || [12] τὸ: τῶι *O*, τῶ *E* || [13] διελέγχων: ἐλέγχων *E* || [14] αἱρέσεων: αἱρέσεως *M* || [15] ἐν οἷς – ζωῆς: *om. E* || [16] ἐπιμελούμενος: -όμενος *BCO* || [17] ἀδικουμένων ἀντιποιούμενος: *om. E* || [18] καὶ πάντων – ἐπιδεικνύμενος: *om. E* || [19] τὰ: τε *E V*, ται *M* || [20] γενόμενος: γινόμενος *O E*

7. [1] λόγοις: λόγος *M* || [2] τῆς: *om. E* || [3] ἔργοις αὐτοῖς: αὐ. ἔργ. *E* || [4] ἐπιδείκνυσθαι: *add.* καὶ *E* || [5] δίχα: *om. E* || [6] κίβδηλον: ἐκτύπωμα *BCX*, *an* δείκηλον *legendum sicut in* Pollucis *Onomasticon* 1.7.3? || [7] τροπαιοφόρον: *om. E* || [8] ἐνιδρυθὲν: ἐνιδρυνθὲν *E M* || [9] πολυκύκλου: περι- *M* || [10] τυράννου – θεοποιούμενον: Δεκίου τοῦ τυράννου ἀθέως θεοποιούμενος *E* || [11] ταῖς: *om. M*

deeds and words in accordance with scripture and consistent with his namesake the *lion,* he *was confident* in the power of faith and stood up to the attacks of [his] adversaries undaunted, striking down with a kingly roar the shameless vanity and audacity of his opponents. [This he accomplished by] rebutting the mythic tales of the Greeks as deceptive and fraudulent, and by refuting the erroneous and unorthodox profane babbling of the heresies. In these deeds, [Leo] used to *shine like a star in the world, holding fast to the word of life*, caring for souls, defending the poor, providing for orphans, assisting widows, restoring justice to the wronged, helping the oppressed, and displaying the appropriate providential care for all those in harm's way and in every kind of need, *becoming all things to all people* by following the apostolic example, so that he *might win all or more of them.*

7. *Leo destroys idols and builds churches*

Not only did he think it was necessary to prevail over the defenders-of-error in words, but also in his very deeds did he eagerly wish to demonstrate the power [of Christ] against idolatry. Genuine proof of these [actions lies in] the fraudulent idolic statue that he destroyed by his prayer and tears, without mechanical aid, and by the triumphant sign of the cross put in its place. This [same idol] had been erected long ago above the multi-apsed Greek *stoa*, and it had been impiously deified by the malicious tyrant, Decius. That place, consecrated as a *habitation of God* and as a holy temple through the holy efforts of this wonderful *servant of God* [Leo], became from that moment on a most appealing and all-holy *martyrion* of the Forty great athletes of Christ. Not only was this greatest work accomplished through [Leo's] diligent zeal and care, but also a most beautiful and admired church was built for the great virgin-martyr of Christ, Lucia, brilliantly adorned by his craftsmanship and diligence with the beauty and magnificence of every kind of ornament.

BCXO E MV

[12] τοῦ: *om. BCXO MV* || [13] Θεοῦ: *om. MV* || [14] τοῦ – θεράποντος: *om. BCX* || [15] θείαις προνοίαις: θεία προνοία *E*, θείας προνοίας *M* || [16] ἀφιερωθέντος – τόπου: ἀφιερωθεὶς ὁ τόπος *BCX* || [17] καὶ πανίερον: *om. BCX* || [18] γεγένηται: γέγονεν *E* || [19] παρὰ: *add.* τὴν *O* || [20] παρὰ – προμηθείας *om. E* || [21] μεγάλη: *add.* τοῦ *E* || [22] ἀνῳκοδόμηται: ἀνοικοδ- *O*

μέγεθος παντοδαπῆς ἐπικοσμήσεως ἐξησκημένος λαμπρότατα,[23, 24] ἔνθα[25] τὰ νῦν[26] κατάκειται σεβασμίως καὶ περιδόξως πάνυ τιμώμενον τὸ τῆς θεοειδεστάτης ψυχῆς ἐκείνου καὶ μακαρίας ἀκηλίδωτον[27] σκήνωμα, βρύον[28] ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἀεννάου μυρίπνοον ἔλαιον, ἀποτρόπαιον μὲν παντοίων κακῶν, ἀλεξιτήριον δὲ παθῶν παντοδαπῶν καὶ *πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*[a] φυγαδευτήριον· ὅσας γὰρ *δυνάμεις* ἔδρασεν *ἐνεργείᾳ* τοῦ ἁγίου[29] *πνεύματος*[b] ἔτι τῷδε[30] τῷ βίῳ περιὼν καὶ μετὰ σώματος ὡς ἄγγελος[31] τοῖς ἐν γῇ πολιτευόμενος,[32] τοσαύτας ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλῷ πλείονας, ἐνεργεῖν[33] καθ' ἑκάστην οὐ παύεται, τὰς πολυειδεῖς ἰάσεις ἐκ τῆς τιμίας σοροῦ δίκην ἡλιοειδῶν ἀκτίνων διηνεκῶς ἀνατέλλων τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως προσπελάζουσιν.[34, 35]

8. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν παραδόξων θαυμάτων[1] ἐξαίσια τῆς *πρὸς θεὸν* αὐτοῦ μεγίστης *παρρησίας*[c] γνωρίσματα, φανερὰ καὶ κατάδηλα πᾶσι τυγχάνοντα καὶ τῆς[2] ἐκ τῶν λόγων περιεργοτέρας ἀποδείξεως οὐδαμῶς[3] προσδεόμενα, σιωπῇ τιμάσθω, ἀδυνατοῦντος, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου μάλιστα τὰ[4] καθ' ἕκαστον κατ' ἀξίαν διεξιέναι καὶ παριστᾶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργῶς[5] τὴν ἀλήθειαν.[6] Πλὴν ἐκ πολλῶν ἑνὸς ἐπὶ[7] τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιμνησθῆναι χρεών, ὅπερ οὐδὲ[8] βουλομένῳ[9] παραλιπεῖν δυνατόν, διά τε[10] τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξαίρετον[11] καὶ τὸ τοῦ[12] θαύματος[13] ἀξιάκουστον· ἀποστολικῆς γὰρ χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐναργέστατον[14] γνώρισμα τουτὶ τὸ μέλλον[15] ῥηθήσεσθαι διήγημα· καὶ τοῦτο νῦν[16] ἀναλαβὼν ἄνωθεν, ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὦ,[17] διηγήσομαι.[18]

9. Ἤνεγκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς αὐτοῦ μακαρίας μετὰ σώματος ἀνεπιλήπτου βιοτῆς[1] τέρας[2] τι[3] δαιμόνιον ἐκ Σικελίας ὁρμώμενον, πάσης ἐπαοιδίας καὶ μαγγανείας ἀνάμεστον, ὡς[4] ἄλλον τινὰ *Ἰαννῆν*[5] ἢ *Ἰαμβρῆν*[6, d] Αἰγύπτιον[7] ἢ Σίμωνα τὸν ὀνομαστότατον[8] μάγον,[9] Ἡλιόδωρον τοὔνομα, τὴν ὅλην *ἐνέργειαν* καὶ κακουργίαν[10] ἐνδεδυμένον τοῦ *Σατανᾶ*.[e] Οὗτος υἱὸς μὲν ἐγεγόνει γυναικός τινος εὐγενοῦς,[11] Βαρ-

[a] Cf. Mat 10:1 [b] Cf. Gal 3:5 [c] Cf. 1 Jo 3:21 [d] Cf. 2 Ti 3:8 [e] Cf. 2 Th 2:9

BCXO E MV

[23] καὶ φιλοπονήμασι – λαμπρότατα: *om. E* || [24] λαμπρότατα: -ότητα *O* || [25] ἔνθα: ἐνταῦθα *O* || [26] τὰ νῦν: τοίνυν *O, om. BCX* || [27] καὶ – ἀκηλίδωτον: *om. E* || [28] βρύον: -ων *O E V* || [29] ἁγίου: θείου *BCXO E* || [30] τῷδε: δὲ *V, om. BCXO* || [31] καὶ – ἄγγελος: ὡς ἄγγελος μετὰ σώματος *BCX* || [32] τοῖς – πολιτευόμενος: *om. BCXO* || [33] ἐνεργεῖν: -ῶν *BCX* || [34] προσπελάζουσιν: αὐτῷ προσιοῦσιν *BC* (*add.* προσιοῦσιν *in marg.*)*X* || [35] τὰς πολυειδεῖς – προσπελάζουσιν: *om. E*

Here, the immaculate body of [Leo's] godlike and blessed soul was honored and laid [to rest] reverently and gloriously, [his body] teeming with a sweet smelling oil as if from an ever-flowing stream. [This oil] averts various evils, wards off all sorts of diseases, and banishes *unclean spirits*. For as many *miracles* as [Leo] *worked by the power* of the Holy *Spirit* while he was still alive and conducting [his earthly life] in an angelic [human] body, so many more does he still, even now, continue to effect daily, emitting all kinds of cures from his precious coffin, like sunbeams to those who approach with faith.

8. *Leo performs miracles*

But these incredible miracles, signs of his great *familiarity with God*, which are manifest and visible for all, do not in any way need to be verified more elaborately with words, so let them be honored in silence. For words are naturally unable to recount each episode adequately, and to show clearly what truly happened. However, among the many [tales], there is one we should recall now, one that is not possible for me to omit – even if I wanted to – because the whole matter is extraordinary and the miracle worth hearing. For the clearest sign of apostolic grace and power is this very narrative about to be told. Now, starting from the beginning, I shall relate the events as best I can.

9. *Leo's enemy, Heliodorus*

During the days of his blessed life in his blameless body, that time ushered in a demonic monster that came from Sicily. Filled with charms and spells, he was like a second Iannes or the Egyptian Iambros, or [perhaps] like the infamous Simon the magician. Heliodorus was his name and he was invested thoroughly with the *activity* and evildoing of *Satan*. He was the son of some well-born woman named Barbara, who was

---

BCXO E MV

8. [1] θαυμάτων: *om. X* || [2] τῆς: τοῖς *C* || [3] οὐδαμῶς: μηδαμῶς *BCX* || [4] μάλιστα τὰ: *om. E*, τὰ *solum om. X* || [5] ἐναργῶς: *post* παριστᾶν *transp. X* || [6] πραγμάτων – τὴν ἀλή: *om. E* || [7] ἐπὶ: *om. BCXO* || [8] οὐδὲ: μηδὲ *E* || [9] βουλομένῳ: -μένου *M* || [10] τε: γε *BCX* || [11] ἐξαίρετον: ἐξέσιον *E* || [12] τοῦ: *om. E* || [13] ἐξαίρετον – θαύματος: *om. BCXO* || [14] ἐναργέστατον: ἐναργέστερον *E* || [15] τουτὶ τὸ μέλλον: τὸ μέλλον τουτὶ *BCX*, τουτὶ μᾶλλον τὸ μέλλον *E* || [16] νῦν: οὖν *E* || [17] ὧ: ὧν *E* || [18] διηγήσομαι: *add.* περὶ τοῦ ἡλιοδώρου *alia manu E*

9. [1] τῆς αὐτοῦ - βιοτῆς: τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου τούτου βιοτῆς *E* || [2] τέρας: φάσμα *BCXO* || [3] τι: *add.* καὶ *M* || [4] ὡς: *om. BCXO* || [5] Ἰαννῆν: Ἰωαννὴν *E* || [6] Ἰαμβρῆν: ἰαββρῆν *B*, ἀβειρὼν *CX* (ἰαμβρῆν *in marg. X*), ἰαμβρὸν *O*, αμβρὴν *V* || [7] αἰγύπτιον: *om. X E* || [8] ὀνομαστότατον: ὀνομαστὸν *E* || [9] μάγον: *om. BCXO* || [10] καὶ κακουργίαν: *om. E* || [11] εὐγενοῦς: *om. MV*

βάρας προσαγορευομένης, τῇ τῆς πατρικιότητος[12] ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένης. Χριστιανῆς δὲ ταύτης τυγχανούσης, χριστιανικῶς τῷ δοκεῖν ἀνήγετο καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἐκ χριστιανῶν γεννητόρων[13] χριστιανὸς[14] ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ πᾶσιν καὶ νομιζόμενος·[15] ἀλαζονικὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος παιδόθεν[16] τόν τε τρόπον ἀνήμερον καὶ τὸ φρόνημα κεκτημένος ὑπερήφανον, μισητὸν[17] ἑαυτὸν πᾶσιν[18] ἀπέδειξεν.[19] Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοδοξίας ἐπιθυμίαν ἐλθών, τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος[20] περιδόξου μεγέθους[21] ἐν περιλήψει γενέσθαι διὰ πολλῆς ἐτίθετο τῆς σπουδῆς,[22, 23] ὡς ἂν τῇ ἐμφύτῳ πονηρίᾳ[24] συνήγορον τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας δυναστείαν προσειληφώς, εὐχερῶς[25] πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν ἐχθραινόντων χωρήσειεν.

10. Ὡς δὲ πάντα κάλων[1] κεκινηκώς,[2] τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον,[3] τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀπετύγχανεν, ἐφ' ἕτερον μεταβαίνει μοχθηρίας ἐσχάτης χαλεπώτατον τόλμημα· εὑρὼν γὰρ Ἑβραῖόν τινα τῶν[4] ἐπὶ μαγείᾳ καὶ γοητείᾳ ἐπισήμων,[5] προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον[6] καὶ οἰκειοῦται φιλοφρόνως[7] δεξιούμενος καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἐπιζητεῖ,[8] εἰ ἆρά γε δυνήσεται διὰ μηχανῆς τινος τοῦ σπουδαζομένου[9] τυχεῖν. Ὁ δέ, *δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν κακίᾳ*[a] καὶ τῶν τοιούτων[10] μηχανημάτων ἔμπειρος, ἐπιδίδωσιν[11] αὐτῷ[12] χάρτην γεγραμμένον ἐπιστολῆς εἶδος ἔχοντα καὶ *δίδωσιν*[13] αὐτῷ *γνώμην*[b] καὶ βουλὴν[14, 15] τοιαύτην, ὥστε κατ' αὐτὸ[16] τὸ μεσαίτατον[17] τῆς νυκτὸς πορευθῆναι πρὸς τάφους ἡρωϊκοὺς καὶ στῆναι ἐπί τινος στήλης ὑψηλῆς·[18] "Κἀκεῖσε κατιδεῖν,[19]" φησίν,[20] "μέλλεις ἐρχόμενόν τινα πρὸς σὲ[21] διὰ[22] τοῦ ἀέρος, φοβερὸν τῇ θέᾳ καὶ πάνυ κατάπληκτον. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ[23] τοῦτον θεάσῃ, μηδαμῶς πτοηθῇς, ἀλλ' ἀτρέμας ἵστασο·[24] ἐὰν δὲ καὶ[25] κατελθεῖν σοι[26] προστάσσῃ,[27] μὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖθεν κατέλθῃς, μέχρις ἂν ὑπόσχηταί σοι πληροῦν[28] πάντα τὰ σὰ αἰτήματα.[29]"

[a] Cf. Ps 51:3 [b] Cf. 1 Co 7:25, 8: 10

BCXO E MV

[12] τῆς πατρικιότητος: τῶν πατρικίων *BCX* || [13] ὡς ἐκ – γεννητόρων: *om. E* || [14] χριστιανὸς: *add.* μὲν *E* || [15] νομιζόμενος: λεγόμενος *E* || [16] παιδόθεν: παιδιόθεν *O M* || [17] μισητὸν: -τὴν *O* || [18] πᾶσιν: πάντων *M* || [19] τὸ ἦθος – ἀπέδειξεν: τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐκ παιδόθεν κεκτημένος, μισητὸς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐδείκνυτο *E* || [20] ἐπαρχότητος: ἐπαρχιώτητος *E* || [21] τοῦ – μεγέθους: τοῦ περιδόξου τῶν ἐπάρχων μεγέθους *BCX* || [22] ἐτίθετο τῆς σπουδῆς: σπουδῆς ἐτίθετο *BCXO*, σπουδῆς ἐπετίθετο *E* || [23] τῆς σπουδῆς: *om. M* || [24] πονηρίᾳ: πονηρίας *O* || [25] εὐχερῶς: ἰσχυρῶς *O*, *om. BCX*

honored with the dignity of a *patrikia*. Since she was a Christian, he too was apparently raised as a Christian, was called a Christian, and was considered one by all as he was born from Christian parents. Since childhood, he had the character of a braggart, and when he developed cruel manners and an arrogant mind-set, everyone hated him. Then, with his lust for power and glory, he invested much effort in order to obtain the glory and greatness of the eparchate, so that once he assumed the political power of this office as an aid to his innate wickedness, he could easily move toward retaliating against his enemies.

10. *Heliodorus and the Jewish magician*

Though he stirred every pot, as the proverb goes, he missed his mark, and turned to a different, most troublesome act of extreme wickedness. For he found some Hebrew man known for magic and sorcery, he invited the man over, welcomed him kindly, and became friends. [Then Heliodorus] sought to learn from him whether he would be able to achieve his goal through scheming. Being powerful in evil and experienced in such intrigues, the [Hebrew magician] gave to [Heliodorus] an inscribed sheet of paper [written] in the form of a letter, and imparted to him the following plan and instruction: that during the middle of the night [Heliodorus] proceed to the heroic tombs and stand upon a certain high [grave]stone. "And there you will observe," [the sorcerer] said, "coming to you through the air a fearful and really astonishing sight. But once you see him, don't be at all terrified; stand motionless, and if he orders you to come down, don't come down until he promises to fulfill all your requests."

BCXO E MV

10. [1] κάλων: *om. E* || [2] κεκινηκὼς: *add.* τρόπον *E* || [3] τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον: *om. E* || [4] τῶν: τὸν *V, om. BCXO E* || [5] ἐπισήμων: *emendavi*, ἐπίσημον *codd.* || [6] τοῦτον: *om. BCX* || [7] φιλοφρόνως: *add.* αὐτὸν *BCX* || [8] ἐπιζητεῖ: ἐπεζήτει *BCXO E* || [9] σπουδαζομένου: ἐλπιζομένου *E* || [10] τοιούτων: τοσούτων *E* || [11] ἐπιδίδωσιν: ἐπιδίδει *E* || [12] αὐτῷ: αὐτὸν *M* || [13] δίδωσιν: εἰσηγεῖται *BCX* || [14] καὶ βουλὴν: *om. BCX* || [15] δίδωσιν – βουλὴν: βουλὴν δίδωσιν αὐτῶ καὶ γνώμην *E* || [16] κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ: κατὰ τὸ *E* || [17] μεσαίτατον: μέσον *E* || [18] στῆναι – ὑψηλῆς: ἐπὶ στήλης στῆναι ὑψηλοὺς *E* || [19] κατιδεῖν: καθίδεῖν *E* || [20] φησίν: *om. E* || [21] τινα – σε: *om. O* || [22] κατιδεῖν – διὰ: φησὶ κατιδεῖν τινα μέλλεις (-ειν *X*) ἐρχόμενον διὰ *BCX* || [23] δὲ: καὶ *V* || [24] ἵστασο: στήθη *E* || [25] καὶ: *om. BCXO E* || [26] σοι: σε *BCXO, om. E* || [27] προστάσσῃ: -ττει *E* || [28] πληροῦν: πληροῦντα *X*, πληρεῖν *E* || [29] σὰ αἰτήματα: αἰτήματά σου *E*

11. Ὁ δὲ βδελυρὸς Ἡλιόδωρος μετὰ πολλῆς περιχαρείας καὶ σπουδῆς[1] τὸ ἐπίταγμα πληρῶν ἀπέρχεται παραυτίκα πρὸς τῇ στήλῃ καὶ ἵσταται[2] καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον[3] μετὰ χεῖρας ἐπάρας[4] ἀνύψωσεν εἰς τόν ἀέρα.[5] Κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν[6] ὥραν ὁρᾷ[7] *τὸν τοῦ ἀέρος ἄρχοντα,*[a] τὸν διάβολον λέγω,[8] ὀφθαλμοφανῶς ἐπὶ μέγιστον εἶδος ἐλάφου σοβαρῶς ἐπιβεβηκότα καὶ[9] πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα καὶ λέγοντα·[10] "Τίνος χάριν ἐνταῦθα πάρει, ὦ νεανία;" Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἕνεκα σοῦ," φησίν, "ἥκω καὶ δυσωπῶ *χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ σοῦ*[b] εἰς τὸ ἐκπληρῶσαι πάντα τὰ ἐμοὶ[11] καταθύμια." Καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντέφησεν· "Εἰ ἄρα γε[12] τοῦ ἐπιθυμουμένου[13] σκοποῦ τυχεῖν[14] ἐπιποθεῖς, τὸν Χριστὸν χρή[15] σε[16] πρότερον[17] ἀπαρνήσασθαι·[18] τούτου γὰρ γινομένου παρὰ σοῦ, μὰ τὰς ἐμὰς μεγάλας δυνάμεις, δίδωμί[19] σοι παρευθὺς συμπάρεδρον ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπισήμων ὑπηρετῶν ἕνα,[20] ὃς γενήσεταί σοι συμπράττων καὶ συνεργῶν εἰς πάντα ὅσα ἂν[21] θελήσῃς καὶ βουληθῇς.[22]"

12. Ὁ δὲ δείλαιος παραχρῆμα τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπαρνησάμενος, κατέρχεται τῆς[1] στήλης μετὰ σπουδῆς πολλῆς,[2] προσέρχεται δὲ καὶ προσπίπτει καὶ συντάσσεται τῷ διαβόλῳ, ἀσπάζεταί τε[3] τὴν αὐτοῦ[4] χεῖρα καὶ λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὑποσχεθέντα[5] πονηρὸν πάρεδρον,[6] τὸν[7] πάσης γοητείας καὶ περιεργίας[8] ἐργάτην δεινότατον, Γάσπαρ[9] προσαγορευόμενον, παραγγελίαν εἰληφότα πολλὴν εἰς[10] μηδοτιοῦν παραμελῆσαι ἢ καθυστερῆσαι ἐν πᾶσιν[11] οἷς ἂν[12] ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος[13] ἔξαρνος ἐπιχειρήσῃ[14] ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶναι[15] διηνεκῶς μετ' αὐτοῦ συμπαρομαρτοῦντα καὶ συνεργοῦντα[16] αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους ἀδιάστατον. Καὶ ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος *ὁ τοῦ κόσμου*[17] *ἄρχων*[c] *ἐν σκότει διαπορευόμενος*[d] ἄφαντος[18] ᾤχετο. Ἔλαθε[19] δὲ ὁ δείλαιος Ἡλιόδωρος τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπώλειαν λίαν[20] ἐπισφαλῶς ἐν τούτοις πραγματευσάμενος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ μόνον τῆς μελλούσης ἀκηράτου ζωῆς ἐλεεινῶς ἀπεστέρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς παρούσης αἰσχρῶς καὶ πολυ-

[a] Cf. Eph 2:2 [b] Cf. Luc 1:30 [c] Cf. Joh 12:31, 14:30, 16:11 [d] Cf. Ps 90:6

BCXO E MV

11. [1] καὶ σπουδῆς: *om. E* || [2] πρὸς – ἵσταται: καὶ ἔστη ἐν τῇ στήλῃ *E* || [3] γραμματεῖον: γραμματῖον *V*, γραμμάτιον *BCXO M* || [4] ἐπάρας: λαβὼν *BCX* || [5] ἀνύψωσεν εἰς τόν ἀέρα: εἰς τόν ἀέρα ἀνύψωσε *BCXO E* (ὕψωσεν) || [6] τὴν: *om. M* || [7] ὁρᾷ: ὁρᾶν *V* || [8] τὸν διάβολον λέγω: *om. E*, τὸν διάβολον *BCXO* || [9] ἐπιβεβηκότα καὶ: *om. E* || [10] λέγοντα: *add.* αὐτῷ *E* || [11] ἐμοὶ: ἐμὰ *E* || [12] ἄρα γε: ἄγε *M* || [13] ἐπιθυμουμένου: *om. BCX*, ποθουμένου σοι *E* || [14] σκοποῦ τυχεῖν: τ. σκ. *V* || [15] χρή: δεῖ *MV* || [16] χρή σε: χρῆσαι *O*, σε *om. E* || [17] πρότερον: πρῶτον *E* || [18] ἀπαρνήσασθαι: ἀρνήσασθαί σε *E* || [19] δίδωμι: δίδομαι *X* || [20] ὑπηρετῶν ἕνα: ὑπηρετῶν *E*, ἕ. ὑπ. *M* || [21] ἂν: *om. O* || [22] καὶ βουληθῇς: *om. BCX*

11. *Heliodorus meets with the Devil*

The despicable Heliodorus happily and eagerly followed his orders. He then departed immediately to the [grave]stone and stood there. Taking the contract in his hand, he lifted it up into the air. At that very moment, he saw with his own eyes *the prince of the air*, I mean the Devil, pompously seated upon a gigantic stag. The Devil approached him and said: "Why have you come here, young man?" Heliodorus said to him, "I have come because of you, and I beseech to ask a *favor* of you to fulfill all my wishes." And the Devil responded: "If you wish to reach your desired goal, you must first deny Christ completely. Once you do this, by my great powers, I'll give you right away one companion from among my distinguished assistants. He will cooperate with you and help you with everything that you want and desire."

12. *The pact with the Devil*

Immediately the wicked man denied Christ, descended from the gravestone hastily, proceeded to the Devil, prostrated himself, and allied himself with him. He kissed [the Devil's] hand and took from the Devil the evil assistant who was promised [to him] – a most wicked practitioner of every [kind of] sorcery and magic named Gaspar. Gaspar had received strict orders not to neglect or fail in anything that the denier of the Savior might attempt to do. He was to accompany and work together with Heliodorus continuously, inseparable from him until the end. And when the prince of the world accomplished this, he disappeared fading into the darkness. But the wretched Heliodorus unwittingly secured his own demise by these reckless actions: Not only was he pitiably deprived of the future undefiled life, but he was also disgracefully and very painfully excluded from the present one, for he, the heir of eternal fire, would be

---

BCXO E MV

12. [1] τῆς: *om. O* || [2] σπουδῆς πολλῆς: π. σπ. *E*, π. χαρᾶς *BCXO* || [3] τε: δὲ *BCX E*, ται *V* || [4] τὴν αὐτοῦ: αὐτ. τ. *BCX* || [5] ὑποσχεθέντα: ὑπεσχημένον *BCX* || [6] πονηρὸν πάρεδρον: δαίμονα *E* || [7] τὸν: *om. BCXO* || [8] καὶ περιεργίας: *om. E* || [9] Γάσπαρ: Γάσπαρα *X*, Γᾶς *E* || [10] εἰς: *om. BCX* || [11] πᾶσιν: *om. MV* || [12] ἂν: *om. E* || [13] σωτῆρος: Χριστοῦ *V* || [14] ἐπιχειρήσῃ: ἐπιχειρήσοι *CXO M*, ἐπιχειρίσει *E*, ἐπηχειρήσει *V* || [15] εἶναι: ἵνα *O* || [16] καὶ συνεργοῦντα: *om. E* || [17] κόσμου: σκότους *BCXO* || [18] ἄφαντος: ἀφανὴς *BCX* || [19] ἔλαθε: λαθε *M* || [20] λίαν: *om. BCX E*

ωδύνως ἀπερράγη, πυρὸς παρανάλωμα γεγονώς, ὡς ἀτελευτήτου πυρός[21] κληρονόμος, κρίσει δικαίᾳ τῆς[22] τοῦ παντεπόπτου[23] Θεοῦ περὶ πάντα προνοίας[24] διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ θεσπεσίου[25] θεράποντος καὶ ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ[26], τοῦ μακαρίτου[27, 28] Λέοντος, ὡς μικρὸν ὕστερον δηλωθήσεται.

13. Ἀγνοήσας γὰρ οὗτος ὁ νέος ἀποστάτης καὶ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἀποστατικῶν δυνάμεων ἐφάμιλλος[1] τὸ τῆς[2] Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ,[3] δυναστείας ἀνίκητον, ἀδεῶς[4] ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐπεχείρησεν κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων τὸ αὐτοῦ[5] πολυΰμνητον ὄνομα,[6] καί,[7] καθ' ἑνὸς μὲν[8] ἑκάστου ποικίλας ἐπιτηδεύων κακώσεις[9, 10] πρὸς αἰσχύνην καὶ χλεύην ἀπορίαν τε καὶ καινοτομίαν ἐσχάτην, κατὰ πάσης δὲ κοινῶς[11] τῆς Καταναίων πόλεως ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ ταραχὰς συνεχῶς ἐπιφέρων, οὐκ ἐπαύετο πάντας ἐξιστῶν καὶ δειματῶν, πάντας ἀνιῶν τε[12] καὶ συνταράττων[13] ταῖς φαντασιώδεσι[14] γοητείαις καὶ μαγγανείαις,[15] αἷς ἐπετήδευεν.[16] Καὶ οὐ κατὰ ταύτης[17] μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης ὁμοῦ τῆς Σικελῶν νήσου τὴν κακομήχανον ἐνέργειαν τῆς σατανικῆς ἐμπειρίας[18] αὐτοῦ[19] δυσμενῶς ἐπεδείκνυτο, *συσσείων καὶ συνταράσσων*[20, a] ἅπασαν ἄρδην·[21] ἐν τοσαύτῃ γὰρ ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ ἑαυτὸν ὑπεραιρόμενον καὶ ὑπερυψούμενον ἐπεδείκνυεν,[22] ὥστε ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις γοητικαῖς[23] ἐπιτηδεύσεσιν[24] καὶ αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ὑπερβαίνειν τὸν περιβόητον[25] Σίμωνα μάγον, ὃν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι[26] δόξαντα πάλαι κατὰ πρόσωπον Νέρωνος τοῦ θεομάχου[27] διὰ προσευχῆς κατέρραξεν[28] πρὸς[29] γῆν[30] καὶ[31] συνέτριψεν ἡ θεοσυνέργητος δυὰς τῶν κορυφαίων ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ, Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος.[32, 33]

14. Οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ὁ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου πρόδρομος Ἡλιόδωρος μετὰ τῶν ὁμοφρόνων αὐτοῦ[1] αἰσχρῶν[2] καὶ ἀκολάστων ἀνδρῶν συναναστρεφόμενος, γυναικῶν[3] ποτε παρερχομένων[4] ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς λεωφόρου, πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ θεραπείαν τῆς φιληδόνου τούτων[5] ἐπιθυμίας

[a] Cf. Ps 59:4

BCXO E MV

[21] παρανάλωμα – πυρὸς: *om. E* || [22] τῆς: *om. E* || [17] τοῦ παντεπόπτου: π. τ. *O V* || [24] περὶ – προνοίας: *om. E* || [25] θεσπεσίου: *add.* ἀνδρὸς γενομένου *E* || [26] θεράποντος – Χριστοῦ: *om. E* || [27] θεράποντος – μακαρίτου: *om. BCX* || [28] μακαρίτου: μακαρίου E

13. [1] καὶ τοῦ – ἐφάμιλλος: *om. E* || [2] τὸ τῆς: τοῦ *E* || [3] τοῦ – Θεοῦ: *om. BCX* || [4] ἀδεῶς: *add.* γὰρ *X* || [5] αὐτοῦ: τοὺ Χ(ριστ)οῦ *E* || [6] ὄνομα: ὅμα *E* || [7] καὶ: *om. BCXO* || [8] μὲν: *om. M* || [9] κακώσεις: -όσεως *M* || [10] καθ' ἑνὸς – κακώσεις: ἐπιτηδεύων ἑκάστου ποικίλας βασάνους καὶ κακώσεις *E* || [11] κοινῶς: κοινὸς *O*, κινῶν *E*, κοινωνὸς *M* || [12] καὶ δειματῶν – ἀνιῶν τε: *om. E* || [13] συνταράττων: -σσων *BCXO*, ταράσσων *E* || [14] φαντασιώδεσι: φαντασίαις καὶ *E* || [15] καὶ μαγγανείαις: *om. E* || [16] ἐπετήδευεν: ἐπιτήδεβε *M*, ἐπιτήδευε *X* || [17] κατὰ ταύτης: κατ' αὐτῆς *BCXO*, καταύτης *E*

consumed by fire through the just judgment of the all-encompassing providence of all-seeing God by his divine servant and hight priest of Christ, the blessed Leo, as will be shown a little later.

13. *Heliodorus turns his magic against the people of Catania and Sicily*

For this new apostate, a rival of the first among the rebellious powers was ignorant of the unconquerableness of the sovereignty of Christ, the true God, so he set out to plot fearlessly against all those who bear His much-celebrated name. [Heliodorus] committed various malicious acts against everyone, causing disgrace and mockery, as well as the most extreme poverty and [social] upheaval. He did not stop plotting against and causing trouble in the entire city of Catania. Inciting frenzy and fear in all, [Heliodorus] annoyed and upset everyone with the fantastical sorcery and magic that he contrived. Not only did he spitefully demonstrate the mischievous operation of his satanic expertise against [this city], but also against the entire island of Sicily, bringing utter turmoil and commotion upon everyone. For he put on airs and pretensions with such disdain and arrogance that by his extravagant sorcerous endeavors he seemed to surpass the notorious magician Simon, the very one whom the pair of workmates of God and chief apostles of Christ, Peter and Paul, threw down to the earth and crushed through their prayer when long ago Simon appeared to be taken up into heaven in front of the God-fighting Nero.

14. *Heliodorus creates an imaginary river*

This precursor of the Antichrist, Heliodorus, who associated with like-minded infamous and licentious men, by his devious magic traced out before women passing through the thoroughfare the illusion of a flowing river, to the delight and for the nurture of his companions' hedonistic

---

BCXO E MV

[18] ἐμπειρίας: ἐνεργείας *E* || [19] ἐμπειρίας αὐτοῦ: αὐ. ἐ. *BCX*, αὐτοῦ *om. E* || [20] συνταράσσων: -ττων *BCXO*, ταράσσον *E* || [21] ἅπασαν ἄρδην: ἄρδην πάντας *E* || [22] ἐπεδείκνυεν: ἀπεδ- *O MV* || [23] γοητικαῖς: γοήτείαις *E* || [24] ἐπιτηδεύσεσιν: *om. E* || [25] περιβόητον: *om. E*, ὑπερβόητον *MV quod non testatur* || [26] ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι: ἀναβῆναι *E* || [27] Νέρωνος τοῦ θεομάχου: τ. θ. Ν. *BCXO*, Νέρωνος *E* || [28] κατέρραξεν: *add.* καὶ *E* || [29] πρὸς: εἰς *M* || [30] κατέρραξεν πρὸς γῆν: π. γ. κ. *BCXO* || [31] καὶ: *om. E* || [32] θεοσυνέργητος - Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος (Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου *V*): ἡ θεία τῶν κορυφαίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλων δυάς, Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος *BCX*, ἡ διὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος *E* || [33] Παῦλος: add. <στ>άσις *M*

14. [1] αὐτοῦ: *om. BCXO* || [2] αἰσχρῶν: ἐχθρῶν *BCXO* || [3] γυναικῶν: γυναίων *E* || [4] γυναικῶν – παρερχομένων: γυναιξί – παρερχομέναις *BCX* || [5] τούτων: αὐτοῦ *E*

διὰ τῆς κακοτέχνου[6] μαγγανείας αὐτοῦ[7] ποταμῶν ἐπιρρεόντων[8] ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐταῖς[9] φαντασίαν. Αἱ δὲ δοκοῦσαι[10] διά τινων[11] βαθέων ὑδάτων διαπορεύεσθαι,[12] τοὺς χιτωνίσκους[13] ἀνασυράμεναι[14] μέχρι γονάτων, ἀλλὰ μὴν[15] καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν[16] μηρῶν, οὕτως ἐβάδιζον εἰς αἶσχος καὶ γέλωτα καὶ καγχασμὸν[17] καθιστάμεναι τοῖς ἀσελγέσι δημόσιον.

15. Ἡ μέντοι δεινότης τῆς διαβολικῆς[1] ἐκείνου δολιότητος καὶ δημοσίᾳ προέβη, μέχρι τῶν πωλούντων λέγω[2] καὶ τῶν[3] ἀγοραζόντων· μεταλλάττων γὰρ[4] τῷ δοκεῖν ἦν[5] τὰς προκειμένας ὕλας καὶ δεικνύων λίθον μὲν ὡς χρυσίον,[6] ξύλον δὲ ὡς ἀργύριον καί τι τυχὸν ἄλλο[7] τῶν εὐώνων[8] καὶ οὐδαμινῶν ὡς πολύτιμόν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα,[9] καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων καὶ ἀ<νω>φελῶν[10] ὡς ἀναγκαῖον[11] καὶ χρήσιμον, ὅπερ μετὰ τὸ ἀπεμποληθῆναι[12] εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν αὖθις εὑρίσκετο μένον[13] ποιότητα καὶ θεωρίαν, οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρέχων[14] ζημίαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν τοῖς τε[15] πιπράσκουσιν[16] ἅμα[17] καὶ τοῖς ἀγοράζουσιν. Τὴν γοῦν τοιαύτην ἐναργῶς καταμανθάνοντες δυσπραγίαν, διὰ[18] δεινότητα[19] γινομένην Ἡλιοδώρου, τοῦ πωλεῖν καὶ ἀγοράζειν[20] πάντες ἀπέσχοντο, πρὸς ἐσχάτην ἐντεῦθεν πενίαν[21, 22] καὶ ἀπορίαν καταντήσαντες. Οὐ μέντοι[23] μέχρι τούτων ἔστη τὰ τῆς κακούργου[24] ῥᾳδιουργίας αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἐπισήμων καὶ περιδόξων[25] ἀνδρῶν πρὸς[26] οἶστρον ἀκαθέκτου[27] φιληδονίας ἐξέκαιεν, ὥστε καταλιμπάνειν οἰκίας καὶ[28] συγγενείας[29] καὶ γεννήτορας,[30] κατακρημνίζειν τε[31] μανιωδῶς ἑαυτὰς[32] καὶ ἀκρατῶς[33] πορεύεσθαι πρὸς[34] οὓς ἂν ἔτυχεν[35] ἐπιποθοῦντας τυχόν, ἤ τοι[36] καὶ ἐπιθυμουμένους παρ' αὐτῶν.[37]

16. Ὁ μέντοι δῆμος ἅπας τῆς πόλεως, τήν τοσαύτην ἐπήρειαν στέγειν οὐ φέροντες, πανδημεὶ τῷ ὑπάρχῳ προσῆλθον, τὴν ἀνύποιστον συμφορὰν ἀπαγγέλλοντες καὶ λῦσιν τῶν τηλικούτων κακῶν λαβεῖν προσδεόμενοι. Καὶ αὐτὸς[1] προσέταξε διὰ τῶν τῆς τάξεως ὑπηρετῶν παραστῆναι τὸν ζητούμενον, ὥστε[2] δημοσίᾳ παραδοθῆναι τοῖς ὄχλοις

BCXO E MV

[6] τῆς κακοτέχνου: *om. E* || [7] αὐτοῦ: *om. E* || [8] ποταμῶν ἐπιρρεόντων: ποταμὸν ἐπιρέοντα *E*, π. ἐρρεόντων *M* || [9] αὐταῖς: *om. BCX*, αὐτοῖς *O* || [10] δοκοῦσαι: *post* ὑδάτων *transp. BCX* || [11] τινων: *om. E* || [12] διαπορεύεσθαι: πορεύεσθαι *E* || [13] χιτωνίσκους: χιτῶνας *M* || [14] ἀνασυράμεναι (-ρόμεναι O): ἀναστέλλουσαι *BCX*, ἀνασύρασαι *E* || [15] μὴν: *add. in margine O* || [16] τῶν: *om. B* || [17] καὶ καγχασμὸν: *om. BCX E*

15. [1] διαβολικῆς: *om. E* || [2] λέγω: φημὶ *BCX*, *om. E* || [3] τῶν: *om. BCX E* || [4] γὰρ: *om. E* || [5] τῷ – ἦν: ἦν τῶ δοκεῖν *BCX* || [6] χρυσίον: χρυσὸν *M* || [7] τι τυχὸν ἄλλο: ἄλλον τί *E*

desire. The women, under the illusion that they were passing through deep water, pulled their tunics up to their knees, indeed up to their thighs. As they so walked, they brought public shame, mockery, and uproarious laughter upon themselves for the [amusement] of these licentious men.

15. *Heliodorus upsets the market of Catania*

Indeed, the shrewdness of his diabolical deceit also reached the public domain, including the buyers and merchants, I mean. For he transformed the appearance of the materials at hand, making stone [appear] as gold, and wood as silver. What was cheap and worthless, [he transformed into] something great and costly, and what was obsolete and useless, into [something] important and useful. After the same [item] was sold, it was found to have returned to its original state and appearance, which caused no small loss for and was a source of contention between the merchants and buyers. When they clearly realized that their bad luck happened because of Heliodorus' wickedness, everyone refrained from selling and buying, which resulted in the most extreme poverty and destitution. His mischievous knavery did not stop with these [acts], for he also excited the daughters of distinguished and illustrious men into such a frenzy of uncontrollable lust that they abandoned [their] households, relatives, and parents, and insanely threw themselves [into the streets] and proceeded unchastely to whoever happened to desire them, or actually, to whomever they desired.

16. *The eparch Lucius writes to the Emperors*

All the people of the city, unable to endure such abuse, approached the eparch in a crowd, reported their intolerable misfortune, and begged for relief from these adversities. The eparch commanded the officers of the order to bring the wanted man that he may be publicly handed over to

---

BCXO E MV

[8] εὐώνων: *add.* τυχὸν *E* || [9] χρῆμα καὶ μέγα: κ. μ. χρ. *BCX* || [10] ἀ<νω>φελῶν (*cf.* Pollucis *Onomasticon* 5.136.7): ἀφελῶν *codd.* || [11] καὶ μέγα – ἀναγκαῖον: *om. E* || [12] ἀπεμποληθῆναι: πολη-θῆναι *E* || [13] μένον: μόνον *M*, *om. E* || [14] παρέχων: -χον *BCX* || [15] τε: *om. MV* || [16] πιπράσκουσιν: πολοῦσιν *E* || [17] ἅμα: *om. BCX E* || [18] διὰ: *om. E* || [19] δεινότητα: δεινότητος *BCX*, δεινὴν *E* || [20] ἀγοράζειν: ὠνεῖσθαι *BCX* || [21] πενίαν: πτωχείαν *BCXO* || [22] ἐντεῦθεν πενίαν: π. ἐντεύθεν *E* || [23] μέντοι: μέν τϊ *C* || [24] κακούργου: *om. E* || [25] περιδόξων: παραδ- *O* || [26] πρὸς: εἰς B || [27] ἀκαθέκτου: ἀκολάστου *BCX* || [28] καὶ: *om. E* || [29] συγγενείας: συγγενεῖς *E* || [30] γεννήτορας: *add.* καὶ *E* || [31] τε: *om. E* || [32] μανιωδῶς ἑαυτὰς: ἑ. μ. *E* || [33] ἀκρατῶς: ἀνακράτος *B* || [34] πρὸς: *om. E* || [35] πορεύεσθαι - ἔτυχεν: πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἔτυχε πορεύεσθαι *BCX* || [36] ἤ τοι: ἢ *BCX*, εἴτε *V* || [37] ἤ τοι – αὐτῶν: *om. E*

16. [1] καὶ αὐτὸς: ὁ δὲ *BCX* || [2] τὸν – ὥστε: αὐτὸν καὶ *E*

πρὸς ἄμυναν. Ζητήσεως μέντοι[3] πολλῆς καὶ[4] ἐρεύνης περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένης[5] ἀνεύρετος ἐγεγόνει[6] καὶ ἀθέατος, τῆς *οἰκίας* αὐτοῦ[7] καταλειφθείσης *σεσαρωμένης*[a] καὶ μηδὲν[8] μηδόλως[9] ἐχούσης. Ὡς δὲ διηπορεῖτο τούτοις[10] ὁ ὕπαρχος,[11] τοὔνομα[12] Λούκιος,[13, 14] διασκεπτόμενος,[15] τί ἂν δέοι[16] διαπράξασθαι,[17] ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου δυσωπηθείς, διὰ γραμμάτων τοῖς τότε τὴν βασιλείαν διέπουσιν ἐσήμανε,[18] Λέοντι, λέγω, καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ,[19] δηλώσας λεπτομερῶς ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς ῥᾳδιουργίας καὶ κακουργίας[20] αὐτοῦ,[21] περιεχόντων[22] τὸν τύπον τοῦτον.[23]

17. "Τοῖς θεοστεφέσιν αὐτοκράτορσι, νικηταῖς, τροπαιούχοις, τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπόταις καὶ φιλοχρίστοις βασιλεῦσιν[1] ἡμῶν, Λέοντι καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ,[2] Λούκιος ὕπαρχος, ὁ ἐλάχιστος δοῦλος τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλειότητος,[3] ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαθείᾳ[4] χαίρειν. Δίκαιον ἅμα καὶ συμφέρον ἡγησάμην τὰ νῦν[5] συμβεβηκότα κατὰ τήνδε[6] τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαρχίαν ἀκουστὰ καταστῆσαι πρὸς τὰς θεοηχεῖς[7] ἀκοὰς τῆς ὑμετέρας[8] γαληνότητος. Καὶ γὰρ ἀνεφάνη[9] κατὰ τήνδε[10] τὴν δουλικὴν ὑμῶν[11] πόλιν Κατάνην ἀνήρ τις τερατοποιός, δεινότατος γόης καὶ μάγος, τοὔνομα Ἡλιόδωρος, πλείστας[12] καὶ[13] χαλεπὰς μαγγανείας καὶ γοητείας[14] κατεργαζόμενος, ὡς δοκεῖν ὑπερβάλλειν[15] ἐν αὐταῖς[16] καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ μαγείαις[17] πάλαι περιβόητον Σίμωνα. Οὗτος πολυτρόποις ἐπιτηδεύμασι πονηρίας[18] *διέφθειρεν*[19] πᾶσαν τὴν *πόλιν*,[b] τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν[20] δι' ἐνεργείας γοητικῆς πρὸς οἶστρον ἀνάπτων ἔρωτος μανικοῦ,[21] ὥστε καταλιμπάνειν τὰς τῶν γεννητόρων[22] οἰκίας, ἀφ'[23] ὕψους τε κατακρημνίζειν[24] ἑαυτὰς καὶ πρὸς ἀκολάστους ἄνδρας πορεύεσθαι, ἄλλας τε γυναῖκας σώφρονας[25] διερχομένας δημοσίαν ὁδὸν ἀσχημόνως βαδίζειν ἐποίησεν· ποταμὸν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἐν φαντασίᾳ παραδεικνύς, μέχρι μηρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνακαλύπτειν ἑαυτὰς[26] παρεσκεύασεν. Ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς λίθους,[27] τὰ ξύλα τε[28] καὶ τὸν χοῦν[29] ὡς χρυσίον[30] ἢ ἀργύριον[31] παραδεικνύων[32] τοὺς ἀγορά-

[a] Cf. Luc 11:25 [b] Cf. Regn I 23:10

BCXO E MV

[3] μέντοι: οὖν *BCX* || [4] πολλῆς καὶ: καὶ πολλῆς *E* || [5] γεγενημένης: γενομένης *V* || [6] ἐγεγόνει: γέγονε *E* || [7] αὐτοῦ: *om. MV* || [8] μηδὲν: *om. V, add. in marg. C* || [9] μηδόλως: *om. E* || [10] τούτοις: *om. E* || [11] ὕπαρχος: ἔπαρχος *O* || [12] τοὔνομα: *om. E* || [13] ὁ - Λούκιος: ὁ Λούκιος, τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῷ ὑπάρχῳ *BCX* || [14] Λούκιος: Λεύκιος *M* || [15] διασκεπτόμενος: *om. E* || [16] δέοι: *om. E* || [17] διαπράξασθαι: διὰπράξηται *E* || [18] ἐσήμανε: διεσήμανε *BCX* || [19] Λέοντι – Κωνσταντίνῳ: *om. BCXO* || [20] καὶ κακουργίας: *om. X E* || [21] αὐτοῦ: *add.* Ἐκράτη (*sic O*, εἶχε *BCX*) δὲ τηνικαῦτα (τότε *BCX*) τὰ σκῆπτρα Ῥωμαίων Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ εὐσεβέστατος, σὺν Ἰουστινιανῷ (Ἰουστιανῷ *O*) τῷ υἱῷ, ὁ υἱὸς Κώνσταντος, ἔκγονος (ἔγγονος *BCX*) δὲ Ἡρακλείου (-λίου *O*). Ἡ δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων

the crowd for punishment. Although they inquired after and searched for Heliodorus, he remained invisible, nowhere to be found, his abandoned *house swept* clean, being completely empty. As the eparch, who was named Lucius, puzzled over these matters, he considered what needed to be done. After everyone had begged him, Lucius reported in writing to those then governing the Empire, I mean Leo and Constantine, and described in detail all [the incidents] of Heliodorus' wickedness and evildoing [in a letter] that contained the following:

17. *Lucius' letter to the Emperors.*

"To the God-crowned, victorious, triumphant Emperors, the rulers of the *oikoumene* and our Christ-loving Kings Leo and Constantine, from Lucius the eparch, your majesties' most humble servant, greetings, in true peace. It is both right and useful, I believe, to make known to the ears of your serenities that echo with the sound of God's voice the [events] that have taken place in this province of ours. For some wonder-worker appeared in your subject city Catania, a most wicked sorcerer and magician named Heliodorus, who performed such dreadful sorcery and magic that he seemed to surpass in his [actions] even Simon himself, famous long ago for his magical deeds. This man corrupted the entire city with his various wicked pursuits. He has excited the daughters of noblemen to such a passionate frenzy that they leave their parents' homes, throw themselves out [their windows], and proceed to licentious men. He made other prudent women, who were passing along the public road walk shamefully. For having made a river appear before them in a mirage, he made them bare themselves up to their thighs. He also reduced buyers and merchants to extreme poverty by displaying stones, timber, and earth

---

BCXO E MV

ὑφήγησις τοιαύτη τις ἦν *BCXO* || [22] περιεχόντων: περὶἔχοντα *E* || [23] περιεχόντων – τοῦτον: *om.* *BCXO*

17. [1] βασιλεῦσιν: βασιλεύουσιν *O* || [2] Λέοντι καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ: Κωνσταντίνω κ. Ἰουστινιανῶ *BCXO* || [3] ὑμετέρας μεγαλειότητος: ὑμῶν γαλινότητος *E* || [4] βαθείᾳ: *om.* *MV* || [5] νῦν: *om.* *E* || [6] τήνδε: *om.* *E* || [7] θεοηχεῖς: θείας *BCX*, *om.* *E* || [8] ὑμετέρας: ὑμῶν *E* || [9] ἀνεφάνη: ἐφάνη *E* || [10] κατὰ τήνδε: καταύτὴν *E* || [11] ὑμῶν: ἡμῶν *CX E* || [12] πλείστας: πολλὰς *E* || [13] καὶ: *om.* *O* || [14] καὶ γοητείας: *om.* *E* || [15] ὑπερβάλλειν: ὑπερβάνειν *E* || [16] ἐν αὐταῖς: *om.* *E* || [17] ἐπὶ μαγείαις: ἐν μαγεία *E* || [18] πονηρίας: *om.* *E* || [19] διέφθειρεν: διέυθειρε *M* || [20] ἀνδρῶν: ἀρχόντων *E* || [21] μανικοῦ: μανικὸν *E*, μαντικοῦ *M* || [22] γεννητόρων: γονέων *E* || [23] ἀφ': ἀπὸ *E* || [24] κατακρημνίζειν: κατακρυμνίζων *X* || [25] γυναῖκας σώφρονας: σ. γ. *E* || [26] ἑαυτὰς: αὐτὰς *V* || [27] λίθους: *add.* καὶ *E* || [28] τε: *om.* *E* || [29] καὶ – χοῦν: *om.* *MV* || [30] χρυσίον: χρυσὸν *M* || [31] ἀργύριον: *add.* τι *V* || [32] παραδεικνύων: παραδεικνὺς *E*

ζοντας καὶ πωλοῦντας[33] εἰς ἐσχάτην πτωχείαν[34] περιέστησεν. Οὐ ταῦτα δὲ μόνον φαντασιοκοπῶν[35] ἐν πολλῇ πλάνῃ καὶ ἀπάτῃ διατελεῖ, ἀλλά γε καὶ πρόξενος εἰδωλολατρείας πολλοῖς[36] τῶν ἀφελεστέρων προκείμενος, μετατρέπειν πειρᾶται[37] τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς[38] ἀπώλειαν. Ἀπειλεῖ δὲ[39] καὶ πᾶσαν ἄρδην διαπρῆσαι καὶ[40] ἀπολέσαι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ καλούμενον Αἰτναῖον[41] πῦρ διὰ μαγικῆς κακοτεχνίας[42] ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς[43] ὄρους κειμένου αἰφνιδίως[44] πρὸς [45] ἡμᾶς εἰς[46] ἀφανισμὸν φρυαττόμενος ἐπενεγκεῖν."

18. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια ἀκουτισθέντες οἱ βασιλεύοντες[1] καὶ μαθόντες[2] μάλισθ'[3] ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπῶν τολμημάτων καὶ[4] κατ' αὐτῆς[5] τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναιδῶς ἐπεχείρησεν, *αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*[a] μεταστειλάμενοί τινα τῆς τάξεως ἄνδρα,[6] τοὔνομα Ἡρακλείδην, ὃν πρωτοκούρσορα[7] καλεῖν ἔθος[8] Λατίνῳ[9] γλώττῃ,[10] διὰ[11] σπουδῆς πολλῆς[12] τὴν Σικελίαν καταλαβεῖν κελεύουσιν, τριάκοντα δὶς ἡμερῶν ὅρον ἐμπρόθεσμον παρασχόμενοι, ὥστε[13] τούτων ἐντὸς ἀνυπερθέτως *παραστῆσαι*[14] *κατὰ πρόσωπον*[b] αὐτῶν[15] τὸν δύσμορον Ἡλιόδωρον ἐντειλάμενοι.

19. Αὐτοῦ[1] τοιγαροῦν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀποπλεύσαντος[2] καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τὴν νῆσον καταλαβόντος, κατὰ[3] συγκυρίαν ὡράθη ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν βαδίζων καθ' ὃν τόπον[4] αὐτὸς[5,6] Ἡρακλείδης τὴν ναῦν[7] ἐκέλευσεν ἐποκεῖλαι.[8] Καὶ αὐτός, προσαγορεύσας αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν, ἔφη·[9] "Μή τινα καλούμενον Ἡλιόδωρον πάριτε[10] ζητοῦντες;" Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τῷ ῥήματι[11] παρὰ[12] προσδοκίαν ῥηθέντι[13] καταπλαγέντων, αὐτὸς πάλιν ἀποκρίνεται· "Μὴ *κόπους* ἑαυτοῖς μάτην[14] *παράσχητε*·[15,c] ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἐγὼ πάρειμι νῦν[16] αὐθαιρέτως[17] ὁ ζητούμενος. Ἡλιόδωρον[18] ἕτερον[19,20] οὐδαμῶς ἂν δυνηθείητε *θεάσασθαι*

[a] Dan 5:5; Luc 2:38 [b] Cf. Ps 49:21 [c] Cf. Mat 26:10; Luc 11:7

BCXO E MV

[33] τοὺς – πωλοῦντας: τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας *BCX* || [34] πτωχείαν: πενίαν *E* || [35] φαντασιοκοπῶν: φαντασιοσκοπῶν *E*, φαντασιος σκοπῶν *M* || [36] πολλοῖς: πολλοὺς *E* || [37] πειρᾶται: *post* λαοῦ *transp. BCXO E* || [38] πρὸς: εἰς *MV* || [39] δὲ: *om. E* || [40] διαπρῆσαι καὶ: *om. E* || [41] Αἰτναῖον: *add.* ὄρος τὸ *E* || [42] κακοτεχνίας (-είας *MV*): κακομηχανίας *BCO*, μηχανῆς *E* || [43] κεφαλῆς: κεφαλὴν *O M* || [44] αἰφνιδίως: *om. E* || [45] πρὸς: ἐφ' *BCXO E* || [46] εἰς: πρὸς *BCXO E*

18. [1] βασιλεύοντες: βασιλεῖς *E V* || [2] μαθόντες: *om. BCX* || [3] μάλισθ': *om. E* || [4] καὶ: *om. E* || [5] αὐτῆς: *om. E* || [6] ἄνδρα: *om. E* || [7] πρωτοκούρσορα: πρωτοκούνσορα *BCX* || [8] ἔθος: ἔθνος *M* || [9] Λατίνῳ: λατίνων *V* || [10] Λατίνῳ γλώττῃ: *om. E* || [11] διὰ: μετὰ *E* || [12] σπουδῆς πολλῆς: πολλῆς σπουδῆς *BCXO E*

as gold or silver. Not only did he live in great error and deception by indulging himself in these delusions, but, indeed, also by presenting himself as the agent of idolatry for many of the simpler [folk], he attempted to turn the masses toward damnation. He even threatened to burn up and destroy the entire city, for he ranted and raved that through his magical acts he would suddenly bring the fire called Aetnaean from the mountain above our heads down upon us to destroy us."

18. *Heliodorus is arrested*

When the rulers were informed of these and [other] related matters, and especially when they learned that along with his other daring cruelties he shamelessly attacked the church itself, *the same hour* they summoned a man of military rank named Heraclides, who is traditionally called a *protocursor* in the Latin language. They commanded him to go to Sicily with great haste. Giving him a deadline of thirty days each way, they ordered him to *bring* the ill-fated Heliodorus *before them* within the allotted time.

19. *Heliodorus meets Heraclides*

Heraclides set sail that night and reached the island on the thirtieth day. He happened to see Heliodorus walking by the seashore at the very place where Heraclides himself had commanded that the ship be brought ashore. Heliodorus spoke, greeting them in the customary fashion: "Did you come to look for someone named Heliodorus?" While they were amazed at what he said unexpectedly, he further replied, "Don't make pointless *trouble for yourself*; look, I, the one whom you're looking for, am present of my own accord. You would never be able to find another

---

BCXO E MV

[13] ὥστε: *post* ἀνυπερθέτως *transp. O MV* || [14] τούτων – παραστῆσαι: *add.* καταστήσαι *M*, *om. E* || [15] αὐτῶν: *add.* στῆσαι *E*

19. [1] αὐτοῦ: αὐτῶ *E* || [2] ἀποπλεύσαντος: -σαντας *M* || [3] κατὰ: *add.* τινα *O* || [4] τόπον: τρόπον *E* || [5] αὐτὸς: *om. BCX* || [6] αὐτὸς: *add.* ὁ *E* || [7] τὴν ναῦν: τηναῦ *M* || [8] ἐποκεῖλαι: στῆναι *E* || [9] Καὶ – ἔφη: αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἔθος προσαγορεύσας αὐτούς, ἔφη *BCX* || [10] πάριτε: παρέγένεσθαι *E* || [11] πρὸς τῷ ῥήματι: προστορηθὲν ῥῆμα *E* || [12] παρὰ: κατὰ *V* || [13] ῥηθέντι: *om. E* || [14] μάτην: *om. E* || [15] παράσχητε: παράσχοιτε *O*, παρέχετε *E*, παράσχηται *MV* || [16] νῦν: *om. MV* || [17] αὐθαιρέτως *add. in marg. V* || [18] Ἡλιόδωρον: -ος. *V* || [19] ἕτερον: *om. E* || [20] ἕτερον: *add.* γὰρ *V*

πώποτε.[a] Ἐγὼ καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμῶν[21] ταύτην, τὴν[22] δι' ἐμὲ γεγενημένην,[23] ἀποδέχομαι καὶ τὴν μεθ' ὑμῶν ὁδοιπορίαν[24] ἀσμένως[25] ἀσπάζομαι· αἱρετώτερον γάρ μοι μᾶλλον[26] θάνατον ἑλέσθαι *παρὰ τοὺς πόδας*[27,b] τῶν ἐμῶν δεσποτῶν, ἤπερ[28] τὸ[29] ζῆν μετὰ[30] ἀδείας παρ' ἄλλοις.[31,32]"

20. Ὁ γοῦν Ἡρακλείδης τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτοῦ[1] προσεσχηκὼς καὶ *θάμβους*[2] *πλησθεὶς*[c] ἐπείσθη παρευθὺς[3,4] τοῦτον[5] εἶναι τὸν ζητούμενον Ἡλιόδωρον.[6] Καὶ αὐτὸς προσθεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· "Ἄνδρες αἰδέσιμοι καὶ συνετοί, ἰδοὺ νῦν ὑμεῖς[7] ἔγνωτε πάντως, ὡς οὐ βίᾳ[8] τινὸς ἀνάγκης[9] κατεπειγόμενος[10] ἥκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἑκὼν αὐτοπροαιρέτῳ πάρειμι γνώμῃ·[11] εἰ γὰρ ἀποδιδράσκειν[12] ἔμελλον, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπτοούμην φυγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν·[13,14] μὴ δὴ[15] διαπράξησθε[16] τὰ τῶν δραπετῶν εἰς ἐμὲ ἢ[17] διανοηθῆτε.[18]" Ὁ[19] δὲ δίδωσιν[20] αὐτῷ ἄδειαν ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀκωλύτως συνεισελθεῖν[21] ἐν τῇ πόλει.[22] "Χρεὼν γάρ," ἔλεγεν,[23] "εἶναι τῆς πόλεως ἔνδοθεν[24] γενέσθαι, ὅπως τὰ τῶν χρειῶν[25] ἐλλείποντα παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων εἰσκομισώμεθα." Λέγει γοῦν[26] ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ· "Τὴν βουλήν μοι νῦν ἀπαγγείλατε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν,[27] κἀγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν[28] ἄδειαν ἀδεῶς διαναπαύεσθαι μέχρις ἂν ὑμᾶς[29] εὐοδώσω[30] διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἢ μᾶλλον ὥρας ἀκαμάτως καταλαβεῖν[31] τὸ Βυζάντιον." Ὡς δὲ θαμβούμενος ἐπὶ πλέον[32] ὁ[33] Ἡρακλείδης διηπόρει ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ῥήματος καὶ τριάκοντα λαβεῖν ἔλεγεν ἡμερῶν πρὸς ὑποστροφὴν προθεσμίαν, ὧν τὰς ἡμισείας[34] ἤδη προσανηλῶσθαι[35] τούτοις[36] χρονοτριβήσασιν, αὖθις ἔφησεν[37] Ἡλιόδωρος· "Λάβε δὴ καὶ τὰς ὑπολειπομένας πάσας πρὸς[38] ἀνάπαυσιν· ἐπὰν δὲ[39] τούτων ἡ τελευταία φθάσῃ,[40] καθάπερ ἐπηγγειλάμην, ἐντεῦθεν ἀπαίρομεν[41] καὶ δι' αὐτῆς[42] τῆς μιᾶς ἡμέρας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαμβάνομεν.[43]"

21. Γέγονεν οὕτω[1] κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον,[2] καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμερῶν[3] παρελθουσῶν[4] ἤγγικεν[5] ἡ τελευταία καὶ[6] ἐμπρόθεσμος,[7,8] καθ' ἣν Ἡρακλείδης Ἡλιοδώρῳ λέγει· "Καιρός, ἰδού, πάρεστι[9] πληρῶσαί σε[10] τὸ

[a] Cf. 1 Jo 4:12 [b] Luc 8:41 [c] Cf. Act 3:10

BCXO E MV

[21] ὑμῶν: ἡμῶν *M* || [22] τὴν: *om. M* || [23] γεγενημένην: *om. E* || [24] ὁδοιπορίαν (ὁδυπορείαν E): πορείαν *BCXO* || [25] ἀσμένως: ἄσμενος *V* || [26] μᾶλλον: *om. BCX* || [27] τοὺς πόδας: *om. E* || [28] ἤπερ: ἢ *E*, εἴπερ *M*, ὑπὲρ *V* || [29] τὸ: *om. E* || [30] μετὰ: μετ' *O* || [31] παρ' ἄλλοις: *om. E* || [32] ἄλλοις: ἄλλους *O*

20. [1] αὐτοῦ: *om. E* || [2] θάμβους: θαύμβους *E* || [3] ἐπείσθη παρευθὺς: *om. E* || [4] παρευθὺς: -ὺ *O M* || [5] τοῦτον: διὰ τὸ *E* || [6] Ἡλιόδωρον: *om. BCXO* || [7] ὑμεῖς: ἡμ- *O V*, ἡμοῖς *M* || [8] βίᾳ: βίας *E* || [9] ἀνάγκης: ἀνάγης *V* || [10] ἀνάγκης κατεπειγόμενος: *om. E* || [11] πάρειμι γνώμῃ: γν. π. *V* || [12] ἀποδιδράσκειν: -ων *M*

Heliodorus. I welcome your arrival here on my account, and I look forward with pleasure to the journey with you. For I prefer to die *at the feet* of my rulers than to live with immunity among others."

20. *Heliodorus and Heraclides spend time in Catania*

Heraclides, having given heed to his words, was *filled with wonder*, and was persuaded immediately that this was, indeed, the Heliodorus he was looking for. Heliodorus then added: "Venerable and wise men, you surely realize that I have come to you not involuntarily, but freely, of my own accord, for if I wanted to escape I would not be afraid to flee from the authorities. So don't treat me as a fugitive or even think [of it]." He gave [Heliodorus] safe passage to move about freely and to enter with them in the city unimpeded, for he said it was necessary to stay within the city, "so that we may obtain the necessary provisions from those who possess them." Then Heliodorus said to Heraclides: "Tell me your plan and that of the Emperors, and I'll give you the opportunity to rest without concern until I help you travel to Byzantium effortlessly in one day, or rather one hour." Heraclides was even more astonished, for he was really at a loss because of this extraordinary statement and explained that he had a thirty-day deadline for his return – and that he had already wasted half of it traveling. Heliodorus then added: "Take all the remaining [days] as a time of rest and relaxation. When the last day arrives, just as I promised, we'll depart then and reach Constantinople in one day."

21. *Instantaneously Heliodorus transports Heraclides and his men to Constantinople*

So he kept his word, and as the remaining days passed by, the deadline arrived, at which point Heraclides said to Heliodorus, "Look, the

---

BCXO E MV

[13] ἔμελλον – ἀρχήν: ἠβουλόμην, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχον ἐμφανισθῆναι *BCX* || [14] οὐδ' – ἀρχήν: τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγεῖν ἐπτοούμιιν οὐδ' ὅλως *O E* || [15] δὴ: οὖν *V* || [16] διαπράξησθε: διαπράξασθαι *BCXO*, διαπράξαι *E*, -σθαι *M* || [17] ἤ: *om. BCXO E* || [18] διανοηθῆτε: διανοηθείητε *MV* || [19] Ὁ: οἱ *E V* || [20] δίδωσιν: διδόασιν *V* || [21] συνεισελθεῖν: συνελθεῖν *BCXO* || [22] ἐν τῇ πόλει: εἰς τὴν πόλιν *E* || [23] ἔλεγεν: -ον *BCX V* || [24] ἔνδοθεν: ἔνδον *BCX M* || [25] χρειῶν: χρειωδῶν *BCX* || [26] γοῦν: οὖν *BCX E* || [27] ὑμετέραν: ἡμετ- *E M* || [28] δίδωμι ὑμῖν: δίδω ἡμῆν *M* || [29] ὑμᾶς: ἡμᾶς *M*, *om. BCX* || [30] εὐοδώσω: ἐνδόσω *E* || [31] καταλαβεῖν: *add.* ἡμᾶς (ὑ- *X*) *BCX* || [32] πλέον: πλεῖον *E* || [33] ὁ: *om. O* || [34] ἡμισείας (ἡμήσυ *E*): ἴσας *BCX* || [35] προσανηλῶσθαι: πρὸς ἀναλῶσθαι *E* || [36] τούτοις: *add.* παρὰ τῇ θαλάσσῃ *BCX* || [37] ἔφησεν: *add.* ὁ *X*, ἔφη ὁ *E* || [38] πρὸς: *add.* ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ *V* || [39] δὲ: *om. E* || [40] φθάσῃ: κατάλάβῃ *E* || [41] ἀπαίρομεν: ἐπαίρ- *B* || [42] δι' αὐτῆς: δια *E* || [43] καταλαμβάνομεν: καταλαβάνωμεν *M*

21. [1] οὕτω: οὕτως *E* || [2] τοῦτον τὸν λόγον: τὸν λ. τ. *E* || [3] τῶν – ἡμερῶν: *om. E* || [4] παρελθουσῶν: *add.* τῶν ἡμερῶν *E* || [5] ἤγγικεν: -σεν *MV* || [6] τελευταία καὶ: *om. E* || [7] καὶ ἐμπρόθεσμος: *om. X* || [8] ἐμπρόθεσμος: *add.* ἡμέρα *E* || [9] ἰδού, πάρεστι: ὀδοῦπαστι *E* || [10] σε: *om. E M*

ἐπαγγελθέν· εἰ δ'[11] ἀνανεῦσαι πρὸς τοῦτο θελήσειας, ὑποβρύχιόν σε τῷ βυθῷ τῆς θαλάττης[12] θᾶττον[13] κελεύω[14] γενέσθαι.[15]" Ὁ δὲ Ἡλιόδωρος ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν βαδίζειν[16] προέτρεπεν[17] μετ' αὐτοῦ αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἡρακλείδην[18] καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἔνθα τὸ πάντων ἀπιστότατον[19] δαιμόνιον τέρας[20] λέγεται γεγονέναι[21] παρ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ[22] εἰσεληλυθότων αὐτῶν,[23] ὡς ἔδοξεν, ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ καὶ λουσαμένων,[24] τοὺς[25] ἅπαντας ἐν τῷ[26] κολύμβῳ συνεισελθεῖν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ[27] προτρέπεται, παραγγείλας πρότερον μηδένα μηδαμῶς τὸν Χριστὸν ὀνομάσαι. Τὰς δὲ κάρας αὐτῶν τοῖς ὕδασιν[28] καταδύσας[29] ἐπὶ μικρὰν[30] ῥοπήν,[31] ἐν τῷ ἀνανεύειν αὐτοὺς[32] αἰφνιδίως ὤφθησαν εὑρεθέντες[33] ἔν τινι[34] βαλανείῳ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. Ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περισκοπούμενοι καὶ διαπορούμενοι[35] ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ παρ' ἐλπίδας[36] παρουσίᾳ,[37] καὶ πρό γε πάντων[38] Ἡρακλείδης μόλις ἑαυτοῦ[39] γενόμενος ἐγνώρισεν[40] ἑαυτὸν[41] ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παμμεγέθει βαλανείῳ[42] τυγχάνοντα.[43] Πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς[44] τοῦ λουτροῦ γενόμενοι[45, 46] εὕροσαν[47] ἕκαστος καὶ[48] τὰ ἴδια ἐνδύματα κείμενα, μηδενὸς ταῦτα φυλάσσοντος.[49]

22. Λαβόντες τοίνυν τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παρέστησαν, οἷς[1] καὶ πάντα τὰ παρακολουθήσαντα κατ' ἔπος[2] ἀπήγγειλαν καὶ ὅτι· "Τῇ[3] παρελθούσῃ νυκτὶ[4] πρὸς τῇ πόλει[5] μείναντες Καταναίων κἀκεῖσε λουσάμενοι σήμερον παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εὑρέθημεν." Ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν,[6] ὡς εἰκός,[7] ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ἀκούσματος οἱ αὐτοκράτορες καὶ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀσέβειαν τῆς αὐτοῦ γοητικῆς[8] περιεργίας ἐκ τούτου τεκμηράμενοι, οὐδὲ ψιλῆς ἐρωτήσεως ὅλως[9] τὸν[10] ἀλιτήριον[11] ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ θᾶττον κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν[12] ἀπεφήναντο[13] κατ' αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ καθώρκωσε[14] τοὺς βασιλεῖς κατὰ τῆς *δυνάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ*,[a] ὥστε προστάξαι[15] παρασχεθῆναι[16] αὐτῷ ὕδωρ πιεῖν.

[a] 2 Co 12:9

BCXO E MV S (ab **21.8** [ναι παρ'αὐτοῦ usque ad 12 καταδὺς] et **22.4** [παρὰ πᾶσαν usque ad 13 μέσου αὐτῶν])

[11] δ': δὲ *E* || [12] θαλάττης: -σσης *E M* || [13] θᾶττον: *om. BCXO* || [14] κελεύω: προστάττω *BCXO* || [15] κελεύω γενέσθαι: ποιήσω *E* || [16] βαδίζειν: *add.* τὸν Ἡρακλήδην *E* || [17] προέτρεπεν: προετρέπετο *BCX E* || [18] μετ' αὐτοῦ – Ἡρακλείδην: *om. E* || [19] πάντων ἀπιστότατον: *om. E* || [20] τέρας: φάσμα *BCXO* || [21] λέγεται γεγονέναι: γ. λ. *BCX* || [22] γὰρ: *om. E* || [23] εἰσεληλυθότων αὐτῶν: -ας αὐτοὺς *BCX* || [24] λουσαμένων: -ους *BCX* || [25] τοὺς: *om. BCX* || [26] λουτρῷ – ἐν τῷ: *bis E* || [27] μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ: μεταὐτοῦ *E* || [28] τοῖς ὕδασιν: ἐν τῶ ὕδατι *E*, ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι *MV* || [29] καταδύσας: καταδῦναι *BCX* || [30] μικρὰν: μακρὰν *BCX* || [31] ῥοπήν: *add.* οὗ γενομένου *BCX* || [32] αὐτοὺς: *om. BCX* || [33] ὤφθησαν εὑρεθέντες: εὑρέθησαν *E* || [34] τινι: τιν *M* || [35] καὶ διαπορούμενοι: *om. X E* || [36] ἐλπίδας: ἐλπίδος *E*

time has come for you to fulfill your promise. If you should refuse [to do so], then I will command that you be drowned in the bottom of the sea." Heliodorus urged Heraclides and his associates to go to the bathhouse with him. It is said that Heliodorus conjured up the most incredible demonic apparition. For after they all seemed to have entered into the bathhouse and washed, Heliodorus urged all of them to come with him into the pool, after he commanded them first not to say the name of Christ in any way. He submerged their heads into the water for a short time and upon re-emerging [from the water] they suddenly found themselves in a bathhouse of Byzantium. They carefully looked around and wondered at their marvelous, unexpected arrival – especially Heraclides who, when he came to his senses, discovered that he was in the grand imperial bathhouse. As soon as they went outside the bathhouse, everyone found his own clothes lying there, with no one guarding them.

22. *Heliodorus escapes his death sentence*

They then took Heliodorus and presented him to the emperors, reporting word-for-word all that had happened, and that "last night we stayed in the city of the Catanians and washed ourselves there, and today we found ourselves, contrary to every expectation, in Constantinople." The emperors, who were naturally astounded by this strange report, understood the extreme impiety of his sorcerous magic. So, they did not think that mere questioning was adequate for this wicked man, but quickly pronounced [a sentence of] capital punishment against him. Then, he made the Emperors swear by *the power of Christ* to command that water be provided for him to drink. When the water was given to him in a

---

BCXO E MV S

[37] παρουσίᾳ: -ας *M* || [38] πάντων: *add.* ὁ *M* || [39] ἑαυτοῦ: ἐνεαυτῷ *E* || [40] ἐγνώρισεν: ἔγνω *BCX* || [41] ἑαυτὸν: αὐτὸν *M*, εἶναι *E* || [42] βαλανείῳ: *add.* καὶ *E* || [43] τυγχάνοντα: *om. E* || [44] δὲ τὰ ἐκτὸς: τὰ ἐκτὸς *E*, τ. ἐκ. δὲ *BCX* || [45] τοῦ λουτροῦ γενόμενοι: γ. τ. λ. *BCX* || [46] γενόμενοι: γενάμενοι *E* || [47] εὕροσαν: εὗρον *E* || [48] καὶ: *om. E* || [49] φυλάσσοντος: -ττοντος *BCX E*

22. [1] οἷς: *om. E* || [2] κατ' ἔπος: κρατεῶς *E* || [3] τῇ: *om. V* || [4] τῇ παρελθούσῃ (παρελούσῃ *M*) νυκτὶ: τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς *BCX* || [5] τῇ πόλει: τὴν πόλιν *E* || [6] οὖν: δὲ *MV* || [7] ὡς εἰκός: *om. E* || [8] γοητικῆς: γοητείας καὶ *V* || [9] ὅλως: *om. E* || [10] τὸν: τοῦτον *E* || [11] ἀλιτήριον: *om. E* || [12] τιμωρίαν: *om. E* || [13] τιμωρίαν ἀπεφήναντο: ἀπ. τ. *BCX O* || [14] καθώρκωσε: κατόρκ- *E* || [15] προστάξαι: *om. E*, παραστάξαι *M* || [16] παρασχεθῆναι: δοῦναι *E*

Ἐπιδοθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ[17] ὕδατος[18] ἐν[19] φιάλῃ[20] προσεποιήσατο πίνειν,[21] μηδαμῶς μέντοι κορέννυσθαι· κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος[22] ἐν τῇ φιάλῃ καταδὺς ἄφαντος γέγονεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν,[23] τοῦτο μόνον εἰπών· "Βασιλεῦ, τὸ παρὸν[24] σῴζοιο,[25] ζήτει δέ με πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει[26] Κατάνῃ."

23. Οἱ μὲν οὖν[1] βασιλεῖς, τὸ τοιόνδε γοητείας ἀνάμεστον[2] τεράστιον κατιδόντες,[3] ἐπὶ πολὺ καταπληττόμενοι διέμενον[4] ἐννεοί. Ἔπειτα, κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐναγόμενοι τῆς ῥηθείσης παρ' αὐτοῦ φωνῆς, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Καταναίων πόλιν[5] ἐπηγγείλατο πορεύεσθαι πάλιν,[6] ἐκ δευτέρου τὸν Ἡρακλείδην[7] προσκαλεσάμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖσε[8] καταλαβεῖν παρακελεύονται. Ὡς[9] δὲ τὴν νῆσον αὖθις οὗτος[10] δι' ἡμερῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων κατέλαβεν, πρὸ τοῦ[11] τὸ πλοῖον προσορμίσαι[12] τῇ γῇ, προέφθασεν[13] Ἡλιόδωρος, πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ[14] ἐφιστάμενος,[15,16] λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς προσαγορεύων αὐτούς. Ὃν Ἡρακλείδης θεασάμενος δρομαίως[17] ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὡς εἶχε τάχους,[18] ἐφώρμησεν[19] καὶ[20] τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ αἰφνιδίως[21] δραξάμενος[22] εἴχετο[23] κατὰ κράτος· ὁ δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἐπειδὴ πάλιν *κόπους*[24] *παρέχειν*[25, a] προῃρημένον ὁρῶ σε[26] σεαυτῷ,[27] προσφιλέστατε, παραινῶ, μὴ κάμνε μάτην, ἀλλὰ λάβε παρ' ἐμοῦ βεβαιώσεως[28] ἀρραβῶνα, δι' οὗ δυνήσῃ διὰ μήκους[29] ἡμέρας μιᾶς[30] αὐθημερὸν[31] τὴν βασιλεύουσαν[32] καταλαβεῖν."

24. Ὁ δὲ τοῖσδε[1] τοῖς αἱμυλίοις[2] ῥήμασιν πειθήνιος[3] γεγονώς,[4] ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ καὶ ἀδείᾳ[5] πάσῃ τῷ καιρῷ[6] πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν ἀπεχρήσατο,[7] τὴν ἐμπρόθεσμον[8] καὶ τελευταίαν[9] ἀναμένων ἡμέραν,[10] καθ' ἣν[11] ὁ[12] Ἡλιόδωρος τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου[13, 14] λαβόμενος,[15] ἑπομένων καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ,[16, 17] πρὸς[18] τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπορεύθη, μεγαλοφρονῶν[19] ἅμα καὶ σφόδρα[20] γαυρούμενος[21] ἐφ' οἷς ἔμελλε δρᾶν. Κεκίνητο δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ

[a] Cf. Luc 11:7

BCXO E MV S (usque ad **22**.13 μέσου αὐτῶν])
[17] αὐτῷ: *add.* τοῦ *E* || [18] ὕδατος: ὕδωρ *O* || [19] ἐν: *add.* τῇ *M* || [20] ἐν φιάλῃ: ἐμφιάλῃ *C* || [21] πίνειν: ποιεῖν *E* || [22] διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος: *om. E* || [23] ἐκ – αὐτῶν: ἀπ' αὐτῶν *BCXO* || [24] τὸ παρὸν: *om. E* || [25] σῴζοιο: σώζου *E*, σώζῃς *M* || [26] τῇ πόλει: *om. E*

23. [1] οὖν: *om. V* || [2] γοητείας ἀνάμεστον: *τῆς γοητείας E* || [3] κατιδόντες: θεασάμενοι *E* || [4] διέμενον: ἔμειναν *E* || [5] δι' ἧς – πόλιν: ὅτι εἰς Κατάνην *E* || [6] πορεύεσθαι πάλιν: π. πορ. *BCX* || [7] ἐκ δευτέρου τὸν Ἡρακλείδην: τὸν Ἡρ. ἐκ δ. *E* || [8] ἐκεῖσε: ἐκεῖ *M* || [9] ὡς: ὁ *E* || [10] οὗτος: *om. E*, οὕτως *M*, οὕτω *V* || [11] πρὸ τοῦ: πρωτοῦ *M* || [12] προσορμίσαι: προ ὁρμῆσαι *O* || [13] προέφθασεν: *add.* ὁ *O* || [14] πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ: πρὸς (εἰς *E*) τὸν αἰγιαλὸν *E M* || [15] ἐφιστάμενος: *om. E* || [16] ἐφιστάμενος: *add.* καὶ *BCX* || [17] δρομαίως: δρομαῖος *B E*, δρομαίοςως *M* || [18] ἐπ' αὐτόν – τάχους: *om. E* || [19] ἐφώρμησεν: ὁρμήσας *E*

bottle, he pretended to drink, but not to be satisfied. Little by little, he submerged through the water in the bottle and disappeared right before their [eyes], saying only this, "Emperor, farewell for now. Look for me again in the city of Catania."

23. *Heraclides returns to Sicily*

When the Emperors observed this wondrous event, which was filled with sorcery, they were awestruck and remained mute for a long time. Then, little by little, they began to remember the words that he uttered, by which he had announced that he would go once again to the city of Catania. They summoned Heraclides and commanded him to go to Catania a second time. After a number of days, Heraclides arrived on the island. Before he docked his boat on land, Heliodorus came forth, stood on the seashore, and greeted them with peaceful words. When Heraclides saw Heliodorus, he rushed over to him as fast as he could, grabbed his hand suddenly, and forcibly held it. Heliodorus said to him, "Since I see you have willingly *gotten yourself* into *trouble* again, my friend, I exhort you, don't toil in vain, but, indeed, be rest assured by me that you will be able to arrive at the Imperial City in the course of a single day."

24. *Heliodorus takes Heraclides and his men to the seashore*

Heraclides, obedient to these enticing words, was content to rest the whole time free from care and worry, and wait for the last day of the deadline. When that day arrived, Heliodorus, who was arrogant and extremely boastful of what he was about to do, took Heraclides by the hand, and, with Heraclides' entourage accompanying him, proceeded to the shore. Then the entire population of the city moved against him. They

---

BCXO E MV

[20] καὶ: *om. E* || [21] αἰφνιδίως: *om. E* || [22] δραξάμενος: *om. E* || [23] εἴχετο: ἐδράξετο *E* || [24] πάλιν κόπους: κ. π. *E* || [25] παρέχειν: *om. E*, -ων *M* || [26] προηρημένον ὁρῶ σε: ὁρῶ σε προήρημένον *E* || [27] σεαυτῷ: *post* κόπους *transp. BCX*, *om. E* || [28] βεβαιώσεως: βεβαίως *BCXO E*(-αῖος) || [29] μήκους: *om. E* || [30] ἡμέρας μιᾶς: μ. ἡμ. *E* || [31] αὐθημερὸν: *om. E*, -ρῶν *M* || [32] βασιλεύουσαν: βασιλίδα *E*

24. [1] τοῖσδε: *om. E MV* || [2] αἱμυλίοις: τούτου *E* || [3] πειθήνιος: πειθινίοις *E* || [4] γεγονώς: γενόμενος *E* || [5] καὶ ἀδείᾳ: *om. E* || [6] τῷ καιρῷ: *om. E* || [7] ἀπεχρήσατο: ἐχρήσατο *E* || ἐμπρόθεσμον: ἐν πρόθεσμον *E M* || [9] καὶ τελευταίαν: *om. E* || [10] ἀναμένων ἡμέραν: ἡμ. ἀν. *E* || [11] καθ' ἣν: ἐν ᾗ *E* || [12] ὁ: *om. BCX V* || [13] τοῦ (*om. O*) Ἡρακλείδου: *om. BCX* || [14] Ἡρακλείδου: -ους *E* || [15] λαβόμενος: γενόμενος *M* || [16] ἑπομένων – αὐτῷ: *om. E* || [17] αὐτῷ: αὐτῶν *M*, αὐτῶν *bis V* || [18] πρός: εἰς *E* || [19] μεγαλοφρονῶν: -φωνῶν *E* || [20] σφόδρα: *om. E* || [21] γαυρούμενος: *add.* μέγα *E*

πᾶν[22] τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως, βουλόμενον[23] *αὐτῷ*[24] *χεῖρας ἐπιβαλεῖν*[a] καὶ[25] θάνατον ἐπαγαγεῖν,[26] τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ[27] μηκέτι στέγειν δυνάμενον.[28, 29] Πρὸς οὓς ὁ[30] Ἡρακλείδης ἔλεξεν ἐπιεικῶς·[31] "*Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ σύνδουλοι*,[b] οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι, *ζητήσεως* βασιλικῆς κατὰ τοῦδε[32] τοῦ ἀνδρὸς *γεγενημένης*,[c] δίχα τῆς ἐκείνων δοκιμασίας καὶ διακρίσεως[33, 34] ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς τοῦτον ἀναλωθῆναι.[35]"

25. Τοῦ δὲ δημώδους[1] ὄχλου τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ θυμοῦ λήξαντος,[2, 3] ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος ἐκτείνας[4] τὴν μετὰ χεῖρας αὐτοῦ[5] κατεχομένην[6] ῥάβδον δαφνίνην[7] διαχαράττει σχῆμα πλοιαρίου περὶ *τὸ κύτος*[8] *τῆς θαλάσσης*,[d] διατάσσει τε[9] τοὺς ναύτας κατ' αὐτὴν[10] τὴν διαγραφὴν[11] τοῦ πλοίου, οὓς μὲν πρυμναίους, οὓς δὲ πρῳραίους, μέσον ἐμβαλὼν τὰ τούτων ἐφόδια, ὅσα τε πρὸς[12] διατροφὴν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἀποσκευὴν ἐπεφέροντο·[13] ἔσχατος[14] δὲ[15] πάντων μετὰ[16] Ἡρακλείδου[17, 18] αὐτὸς εἰσελθὼν[19] Ἡλιόδωρος,[20] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ[21] συμπάρεδρον ἐξ ὀνόματος καλέσας, αὐθόρμητον τὴν ναῦν,[22] μηδενὸς ἕλκοντος, ἄνευ εἰρεσίας μετὰ σφοδρότητος πάνυ[23] πολλῆς συνελαύνεσθαι[24] παρεσκεύασεν. Ἅμα μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοῦ[25] ἐπερωτᾶν, "Ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ,[26]" λέγων, "κατελάβομεν;" Ὁ δὲ συμπάρεδρος δαίμων ἠκούετο[27] διδοὺς[28] τὰς[29] ἀποκρίσεις· "Εἰς τοὺς Καλάμους," φησίν, "τοῦ Ῥηγίου.[30]" Καὶ πάλιν ὁ μὲν ἐπηρώτα·[31] "Ποῦ παροδεύομεν;" Ὁ δέ, "Εἰς Κοτρώνην,[32]" ἔφασκεν. Εἶτα πυθομένῳ·[33] "Ποῦ ποτε ἄρα[34] παραβάλλομεν;[35]" "Εἰς Ὑδροῦντα,[36]" ἀπεκρίνατο· καὶ καθεξῆς[37] τοὺς ἐπισημοτέρους[38] τόπους, ποτὲ μὲν[39] λιμένων,[40] ποτὲ δὲ πόλεων ὀνομαστὶ δηλοῦντος πυκνότερον τοῦ δεινοῦ συμπλωτῆρος[41] εἰς μῆκος ἡμέρας μιᾶς[42] αὐθημερὸν[43] τὴν βασιλεύουσαν[44] καταλαμβάνουσιν. Ὡς δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ Βουκολέοντι παρέβαλον, ὁρμητηρίῳ τυγχάνοντι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ βασίλεια,[45] ἡ μὲν σκιαγραφηθεῖσα[46] ναῦς ἐκείνη ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν

[a] Cf. Esth. 1:1; Luc 20:19 [b] Cf. Col 4:7 [c] Cf. Act 15:7 [d] Ps 64:8

BCXO E MV

[22] κατ' – πᾶν: *om. E* || [23] βουλόμενον: -οι *BCX* || [24] αὐτῷ: αὐτὸν *M* || [25] βουλόμενον – καὶ: *om. E* || [26] ἐπαγαγεῖν: *add.* επαυτὸν *E* || [27] ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ: αὐτοῦ ἀνομίας *BCX* || [28] δυνάμενον: δυνάμενοι *BCX* || [29] τὴν ὑπερβολὴν – δυνάμενον: *om. E* || [30] ὁ: *om. BCX E* || [31] ἔλεξεν ἐπιεικῶς: ἐπ. ἔλ. *E* || [32] τοῦδε: *om. E* || [33] δοκιμασίας καὶ: *om. E* || [34] διακρίσεως: κρίσεως *BCXO*, βουλῆς *E* || [35] ἀναλωθῆναι: ἀναι(ε *E*)ρεθῆναι *BCX E*

25. [1] δημώδους: *om. E* || [2] τοῖσδε – λήξαντος: λήξαντος τοῦ θυμοῦ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις *E* || [3] λήξαντος: παυσαμένων *BCX* || [4] ὁ Ἡλιόδ. ἐκτείνας: ἐκτ. ὁ Ἡλιόδ. *BCX* || [5] αὐτοῦ: αὐτῶ *BCX* || [6] αὐτοῦ κατεχομένην: κ. αὐτῶ *BCX*, κ. αὐτοῦ *O E* || [7] ῥάβδον δαφνίνην: δαφνίνην ῥάβδον *BCX* || [8] κύτος: χείλος *E* || [9] διατάσσει τε: διατάσεται *MV* || [10] κατ' αὐτὴν: κατὰ τὴν *E* || [11] τὴν διαγραφὴν: γραφὴν *E* || [12] πρός: εἰς *E* || [13] ἐπεφέροντο: -ετο *X*, ἐφέροντο *E* || [14] ἔσχατος: -ον *V*

wished to attack him and put him to death, for they were no longer able to endure his extreme arrogance. Heraclides said soothingly to the crowd, "*Brothers and fellow servants*, since there is an Imperial inquisition pending against this man, it is not just for someone else to kill him without the trial and judgment of the [Emperors]."

25. *Heliodorus sketches a boat to travel to Constantinople*

Once the anger of the unruly crowd was abated by these words, Heliodorus, extending his laurel rod held fast in his hand, sketched the form of a boat in the *hollow of the sea* and arranged the sailors along the very outline of the boat, [assigning] some to the stern and others to the bow. In the middle of the boat, Heliodorus placed the supplies that the sailors had brought on board, including food and household items. Last of all, Heliodorus himself entered with Heraclides. Having summoned his own [demonic] associate by name, Heliodorus made the boat self-impelled so that it could be driven vigorously, without anyone pulling or rowing. At the same time, however, he pretended to be inquisitive, saying, "Where have we arrived?" The assistant demon was heard giving the replies, "At the Calamoi," he says, "of Region." And again he asked, "What place are we passing by?" And the demon said, "Croton." Then he inquired, "What place are we approaching?" "Hydrous," he replied. And then, as the wicked shipmate indicated from time to time the noteworthy harbors and the names of the cities, they reached the Imperial City in the course of that very same day. As they approached the so-called Boucoleon, which served as the harbor next to the Palace, the ship

---

BCXO E MV

[15] δὲ: *add.* μετὰ *V* || [16] μετὰ: *add.* τοῦ *E* || [17] Ἡρακλείδου: Ἡρακλίδους *E* || [18] Ἡρακλείδου: *add.* καὶ *E* || [19] εἰσελθών: *add.* ὁ *O* || [20] Ἡλιόδωρος: *om. BCX E* || [21] ἑαυτοῦ: αὐτοῦ *E* || [22] ναῦν: ναῦ *E M* || [23] πάνυ: *om. E* || [24] συνελαύνεσθαι: ἀνελαύνεσθαι *E* || [25] τοῦ: *om. BCX E* || [26] τόπῳ: τόπων *O* || [27] ἠκούετο: *om. E* || [28] διδοὺς: ἐδίδου *E* || [29] τὰς: *add.* ἀκοᾶς καὶ *M* || [30] Ῥηγίου: ὀρηγίου *V* || [31] ἐπηρώτα: ἐπερ- *E* || [32] Κοτρώ(ο *E*)νην: Κρότωνα *BCXO* || [33] πυθομένῳ: πυθομένου *BCX E M* || [34] ποτε ἄρα: *om. E* || [35] παραβάλλομεν: παρεβάλωμεν *E* || [36] εἰς Ὑδροῦντα: *correxi*, εἰσιδρῦντα *O*, εἰς ἱδροῦντα *BCX E MV* || [37] καθεξῆς: *add.* λέγων *E* || [38] ἐπισημοτέρους: *om. E* || [39] ποτὲ μὲν: καὶ *E* || [40] λιμένων: λιμένας *E* || [41] ποτὲ δὲ – συμπλωτῆρος: *om. E* || [42] ἡμέρας μιᾶς: μ. ἡμ. *M* || [43] αὐθημερὸν: *om. BCX E* || [44] βασιλεύουσαν: βασιλίδα πόλιν *BCX* || [45] ὁρμητηρίῳ – βασίλεια: *om. E* || [46] σκιαγραφηθεῖσα: σκιαγραφεῖσα *M*, *om. E*

αὐτῶν ἄφνω γέγονεν ἄφαντος,[47,48] αὐτοὶ δὲ μετὰ τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς ἐφοδίων πάντων,[49] ὧν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐπεφέροντο,[50] εὑρέθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς.

26. Ὡς δὲ περιηγγέλη[1] πᾶσιν ἡ τοῦ δυστήνου Ἡλιοδώρου παρουσία, συνέρρει[2] πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' αὐτόν,[3] πᾶσά τε σχεδόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν,[4] ἡ πόλις τετάρακτο ἐπὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ αὐτοῦ, προσδοκῶσα[5] τάχα[6] τι τῶν ἀπευκτοτάτων[7] πείσεσθαι διὰ τῆς κακομηχάνου μαγγανείας αὐτοῦ. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἡ λεγομένη στρατώρισσα, τοὔνομα Αἰθαλία, τοῦ οἰκήματος προκύψασα,[8] θεάσασθαι θέλουσα ὡς ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἥκοντα[9] τὸν ἴδιον[10] ἄνδρα Ἡρακλείδην,[11] ὡς εἶδε συνοδοιποροῦντα μετ' αὐτοῦ[12] τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον, πτυέλου αὐτῆς[13] τὸ στόμα πληρώσασα κατὰ[14] τῆς ἐκείνου[15] ὄψεως ἐναπέπτυσεν,[16] ὡς ἐν μυκτηρισμῷ δὲ καὶ ἐξουδενώσει[17] μετὰ φωνῆς ἐκραύγασεν ἰσχυρᾶς· "Βλέπετε,[18]" φησίν, "οἷον κάθαρμα καὶ βδέλυγμα τὸν ἐμὸν σύνευνον ἐποίησεν τὴν τῶν[19] Σικελῶν νῆσον ἐκ δευτέρου καταλαβεῖν;" Ὁ δὲ τὴν δημοσίαν αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἐνεγκών, εἰς ἄμετρον[20] ὀργὴν ἐκτραπείς, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· "Ἐγώ σε ποιήσω παραβολὴν καὶ παράδειγμα πάσῃ τῇ πόλει εἰς κοινὴν ὕβριν[21] καὶ καταγέλωτα.[22]" Τοσοῦτον οὖν[23] ὑπερίσχυσεν ἡ τῆς μαγγανείας αὐτοῦ δαιμονιώδης ἐνέργεια, ὡς καὶ τὸ πῦρ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως σβέσαι. Ἔφθασε τοίνυν καὶ μέχρι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀκοῶν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καθ' ὅλου τὸ πῦρ σβέννυται. Καὶ λέγουσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ βασιλεῖς· "Εἰς τοσαύτην[24] μανίας ὑπερβολήν ἦλθες,[25] ἄθλιε, ὅτι καὶ κατὰ[26] τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπεχείρησας, ὥστε τὸν[27] ἀφανισμὸν αὐτοῦ παντελῆ γοητικαῖς ἐπαοιδίαις ἐπιτηδεῦσαι;[28]" Τοῦ δὲ[29] τοῦτο πρᾶξαι καθομολογήσαντος,[30] λιμῷ καθυποβαλεῖν τοῦτον[31] κελεύουσιν ὡς γόητα. Ὁ δὲ τῇ δολιότητι τῆς μαγικῆς κακομηχανίας[32] χρώμενος τὸν[33] λιμὸν ἐπὶ[34] πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν[35] ἐπήνεγκεν.

BCXO E MV

[47] ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν – ἄφαντος: ἄφαντος γέγονεν ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν *E* || [48] ἄφνω – ἄφαντος: ἄφαντος ἄφνω γέγονεν *BCXO* || [49] αὐτοὶ – πάντων: τὰ δὲ πρόσὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐφόδια *E* || [50] ὧν – ἐπεφέροντο: *om. E*

26. [1] περιηγγέλη: περϊήγγέλθη *M*, ἐλέχθη *E* || [2] συνέρρει: συνήχθη *E* || [3] αὐτόν: *add.* καὶ *E* || [4] τε – εἰπεῖν: *om. E* || [5] προσδοκῶσα: -κῶντες *BCX* || [6] τάχα: *om. E* || [7] ἀπευκτοτάτων: ἀπεκτωτάτων V || [8] προκύψασα: *add.* τοῦ *E* || [9] θέλουσα – ἥκοντα: *om. E* || [10] ἴδιον: *om. M* || [11] Ἡρακλείδην: *add.* ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποδιμίας *E* || [12] μετ' αὐτοῦ: αὐτῷ *E* || [13] αὐτῆς: *om. BCXO E* || [14] κατὰ: καὶ τὰ *M* || [15] ἐκείνου: *om. E*

that he sketched suddenly disappeared right before their very eyes, and they found themselves on dry ground – along with all the supplies belonging to them that had been brought on board for their use.

26. *Aithalia, the wife of Heraclides, insults Heliodorus*

When the arrival of the wretched Heliodorus was announced to everyone, the people swarmed to him. Nearly the whole city, so to speak, was distressed by the sight of him – perhaps expecting to suffer something horrible because of his evil wiles. At that time, the so-called *stratorissa* named Aithalia peered out from [her] house, for she wanted to see her husband Heraclides returning from his journey. When she saw Heliodorus walking with him, she filled her mouth with saliva and spat on his face, shouting in a strong voice filled with sarcasm and contempt, "Do you see," she said, "what an outcast and abomination made my husband go to the island of Sicily a second time?" But Heliodorus, [unable to] endure this public shame, unleashed his unbridled wrath and said to her, "I will make you an illustration and example of public insult and derision for the whole city." Then, the demoniacal power of his witchcraft was so successful that fire was extinguished throughout the entire city. Finally, the reason why the fire was totally extinguished reached the ears of the Emperors. So they said to him, "You have reached the limits of such madness, wretched man, that you have turned your power against fire, having made it utterly disappear by your magical incantations." And when he confessed to having done this, they commanded that he be starved to death as a sorcerer. But Heliodorus, using the most treacherous magical deceptions, [instead] brought famine upon the entire city.

BCXO E MV

16 ὄψεως ἐναπέπτυσεν: ἐνέπτυσεν ὄψεως *BCX*, ὄψεως αὐτὸν ἐναπέρριψεν *O*, ὄψεως αὐτοῦ ἐναπέπτυσεν *E* || 17 καὶ ἐξουδενώσει: *om. E* || 18 βλέπετε: βλέπε *V* || 19 τῶν: *om. B* || 20 ἄμετρον: ἄμετον *M* || 21 ὕβριν: ὕμβριν *M* || 22 καταγέλωτα: γέλωτα *E* || 23 οὖν: γὰρ *BCX* || 24 τοσαύτην: -της *MV*, τοσοῦτον *O* || 25 μανίας – ἦλθες: ἦλθες μανίας ὑπερβολήν *BCX*, μανείας ἦλθες ὑπερβολήν *O* || 26 κατὰ: *om. E* || 27 τὸν: *om. BCXO* || 28 ἐπεχείρησας – ἐπιτηδεῦσαι: τὸν ἀφανισμὸν ἐπεχείρισας ταῖς γοήτίαις σου *E* || 29 τοῦ δὲ: τὸν δὲ *BCX* || 30 καθομολογήσαντος: -τα *BCX* || 31 τοῦτον: *om. BCX* || 32 κακομηχανίας: κακοτεχνίας *E* || 33 τὸν: *om. E* || 34 ἐπὶ: *om. BCX* || 35 πᾶσαν (πᾶσιν *O*) – πόλιν: πάσῃ τῇ πόλει *BCX V*

27. Οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι πανδημεὶ συνδραμόντες τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐκραύγαζον· "Ἀρθήτω ὁ μάγος, ἀναλωθήτω ὁ γόης, *διέφθειρε*[1] γὰρ πᾶσαν *τὴν πόλιν*.[a]" Οἱ δὲ θυμοῦ πολλοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ[2] πλησθέντες,[3] ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς δημοσίαν ἐξέτασιν,[4] ἐπερωτῶσί τε[5] σὺν αὐστηρίᾳ πολλῇ λέγοντες· "Αὐτὸς ἐποίησας τὴν τοσαύτην[6] τῶν χρειῶν ἔνδειαν, ὥστε λιμῷ κινδυνεῦσαι τὴν πόλιν;" Ὁ δὲ κατέθετο[7] τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλά γε καὶ χείρονα κατεργάσασθαι ἐπαπειλῶν διϊσχυρίζετο, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν ἐκδίκησιν λήψοιτο, φησίν, παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τῆς ἐνυβρισάσης αὐτὸν[8] δημοσίᾳ· παρασκευάσαι γάρ,[9] ἔλεγε, φλόγα καὶ πῦρ διὰ τῆς νηδύος αὐτῆς ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ μηδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν δυνατὸν[10] τοῦτο εὑρίσκεσθαι.[11] Τούτοις τοῖς ἀτόποις ῥήμασιν πρὸς μείζονα κινηθέντες ὀργὴν οἱ βασιλεύοντες, κεφαλικὴν ἀποφαίνονται κατ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν. Ὁπηνίκα δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ὕψωσεν ὁ σπεκουλάτωρ χεῖρα[12] σὺν τῷ ξίφει πρὸς τὸ τὸν ἀλιτήριον[13] καρατομῆσαι,[14] αἰφνίδιον οἱονεὶ[15] σφαῖραι[16] δύο τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ καθωράθησαν ἐκπηδήσασαι, αἳ τὴν στέγην τοῦ οἰκήματος διασχίσασαι, ἀποπτῆναι[17] διὰ μέσου αὐτῆς τὸν πάσης γοητείας ἀνάμεστον παρεσκεύασαν, τοῦτο μόνον εἰπόντα· "Βασιλεῦ, ζῆθι καὶ[18] σῴζου, ζήτει[19] δέ[20] με πάλιν[21] ἐν πόλει[22] Κατάνῃ."

28. Ὡς δὲ τῆς δεινῆς αὐτοῦ περιεργίας[1] ἡ πρᾶξις μέχρι τινὸς[2] εἰς ἀφανισμὸν τοῦ πυρὸς παντελῆ κατεκράτησεν,[3] συνδραμόντες οἱ ὄχλοι τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν στρατώρισσαν Αἰθαλίαν εἰς μέσον προήγαγον.[4] Ὅσα δὲ[5] δεδρακέναι λέγεται *τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ*[b] προφάσει τῆς τοῦ[6] πυρὸς χρείας[7] εἰς αὐτήν, οὐ μόνον αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιττὸν ἥγημαι λέγειν, ἄξια λήθης μᾶλλον ἢ μνήμης ὑπάρχοντα.[8,9] Φέρε δὴ λοιπόν, ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν τῶν λοιπῶν σατανικῶν[10] φαντασιῶν, ὧν ἔδρασεν[11] *ὁ τῆς ἀπωλείας υἱὸς*[c] Ἡλιόδωρος[12] ἐν τῇ Καταναίων πόλει, τὸν λόγον μετενέγκωμεν, ἵν' *εἰδῆτε*[13] τὸν *ἀσεβῆ*, κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῳδόν, *ὑπερυψούμενον μὲν*[14] *καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὑπὲρ*[15] *τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου*,[d] καταβαλλόμενον δὲ

[a] Cf. Regn I 23:10 [b] Act 21:36 [c] Prov 24:22a; Joh 17:12; 2 Th 2:3 [d] Ps 36:35

BCXO E MV

27. [1] διέφθειρε: δϊέυφθηρε *M* || [2] κατ' αὐτοῦ: *om. BCX* || [3] κατ' αὐτοῦ πλησθέντες: πλ. κατ' αὐτ. *O* || [4] ἐξέτασιν: *add.* καὶ *E* || [5] τε: *om. E* || [6] τοσαύτην: *add.* ταραχὴν καὶ *M* || [7] κατέθετο: *add.* καὶ *E* || [8] αὐτὸν: αὐτῷ *BCX* || [9] γὰρ: γοῦν *V* || [10] δυνατὸν: *add.* εἶναι *BCX* || [11] καὶ μηδαμόθεν – εὑρίσκεσθαι: *om. E* || [12] χεῖρα: *om. E* || [13] πρὸς – ἀλιτήριον: *om. E* || [14] καρατομῆσαι: *add.* αὐτὸν *E* || [15] οἱονεὶ: οἷον *E* || [16] σφαῖραι: σφαῖρ *M* || [17] ἀποπτῆναι: ἀπὸ τῆναι *M* || [18] ζῆθι καὶ: *om. E* || [19] ζήτει: ζητεῖτε *V* || [20] δὲ: *om. E* || [21] πάλιν: *om. E* || [22] πόλει: *om. BCXO E*

27. *Heliodorus escapes his death sentence a second time*

Then the crowd ran to the Emperors and shouted: "Let the magician *be taken away*, let the sorcerer be killed, for he destroyed the entire city." The Emperors, filled with wrath against him, led him to a public interrogation. Inquiring sternly, they said: "Did you yourself bring about this scarcity of supplies to endanger the city with famine?" He admitted to having done this, but he threatened to do something even worse if he was not properly avenged, he said, for having been publicly humiliated by the woman. For he said that he would make fiery flames come out through her womb, and that fire would not be found anywhere else. Moved to even greater wrath by these absurd words, the rulers condemned him to capital punishment. But, when the *speculator* lifted his sword in his right hand to behead the wretched man, suddenly two sphere-like objects seemed to leap out from his shoulders and to rent asunder the roof of the house, enabling the sorcerer to fly through it, saying only this, "Emperors, live long and farewell, look for me again in Catania."

28. *Aithalia is the only source of fire*

Since the operation of his horrible sorcery reached so far as to extinguish fire totally for some time, the *multitude of the people* gathered together and brought the aforementioned Aithalia into their midst. I think it is not only shameful, but even superfluous to narrate the things that it is said that the crowd perpetrated against her under the pretext that they needed fire, for these [events] should be [cast into] oblivion rather than remembered. So, let's shift gears and relate the remaining satanic apparitions that the *son of perdition*, Heliodorus, conjured in the city of Catania. In this way, you may *see the ungodly exalting himself very highly*, in the words of the psalmodist, *and lifting himself up* over *the cedars of Lebanon*, but then being overthrown and so utterly destroyed by the

---

BCXO E MV

28. [1] περιεργίας: περϊαργείας *M* || [2] μέχρι τινὸς: *om. E* || [3] κατεκράτησεν: κακατεκράτησεν μέχρι τινὸς καιροῦ *E* || [4] προήγαγον: ἤγαγον *E* || [5] δὲ: *om. M* || [6] τῆς τοῦ: *om. E* || [7] χρείας: *om. E* || [8] ἄξια – ὑπάρχοντα: *om. E* || [9] ὑπάρχοντα: *add.* <στ>άσις β΄ *M* || [10] σατανικῶν: *om. BCX* || [11] ἔδρασεν: ἐποίησεν *E* || [12] Ἡλιόδωρος: *om. E* || [13] εἰδῆτε: εἰδῆ *O* || [14] μὲν: *om. BCX E M* || [15] ὑπὲρ: ὡς *M*

καὶ κακῶς[16] ἀπολλύμενον[17] ὑπὸ τοῦ *μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως*[18, a] καὶ θεράποντος[19] Χριστοῦ[20] Λέοντος, ὥστε μηκέτι εἶναι μήτε μὴν τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ ζητούμενον εὑρίσκεσθαι.

29. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ ἀγῶνος ἱππικοῦ τελουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Καταναίοις, παρόντα τινὰ νεανίαν, Χρύσην τοὔνομα, ὡραῖον καὶ περικαλλῆ, πρὸς τὴν[1] ἅμιλλαν εὐτρεπισμένον, ἀδελφιδοῦν τυγχάνοντα[2] τοῦ μακαρίτου[3] Λέοντος, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Εἰ θέλεις, ὦ φίλε, δύναμαι ποιῆσαί σοι ἵππον, δι' οὗ δυνήσῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερελάσαι καὶ πάντας συνθλᾶσαι κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ὑπάρχου." Ὁ δέ, μὴ συνιδὼν τὸν δόλον τῆς ἐπαοιδίας αὐτοῦ, "Βούλομαι," φησίν,[4] "ποίησον ὡς ἐπηγγείλω." Καὶ δὴ σὺν τῷ λόγῳ ἐξαίφνης[5] παρέστη[6] ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἵππος λευκός, εὐθαλής,[7] καὶ ὡραῖος,[8] ἐφ' ὃν ἐπιβὰς ὁ νεανίας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τῇ ταχυτῆτι λίαν[9] ὑπερήλασεν, ὥστε[10] θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντας, ἀλλά γε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὕπαρχον.[11] Ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς ἁμίλλης τοῦ δρόμου τέλος εἴληφεν, αἰφνιδίως[12] ὁ ἵππος ἄφαντος[13] ἐγεγόνει[14] — ἦν γὰρ φάντασμα[15] δαιμονιῶδες — ὁ μέντοι ἐπιβάτης καταπληττόμενος, ὡς εἰκός, ἔμεινεν ἐννεός.

30. Εὐθέως οὖν ἀποστέλλονται[1] παρὰ Λουκίου[2] τοῦ ὑπάρχου[3] στρατιῶται[4] τοῦ[5] μεταστεῖλαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν[6, 7] σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ τὸν ἐπιβάτην. Ὡς δὲ *παρέστη*[8] *κατὰ πρόσωπον*[b] αὐτοῦ[9] ὁ Χρύσης, φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· "Ἄγε δὴ[10] τὸν θαυμάσιον ἐκεῖνον[11] ἵππον, ἄξιον ὄντα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀποσταλῆναι. Οὐδὲ[12] γὰρ ἁρμόδιόν ἐστιν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τοιοῦτον ταχινὸν[13] ἔχειν ἵππον,[14] ἀλλ' ἢ μόνοις τοῖς[15] δεσπόταις εἰς τὰ βασίλεια." Ὁ μέντοι νεανίας εἰς ἔκστασιν ἐλθών, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενός τι[16] ἀπολογήσασθαι, κατείχετο δέσμιος. Ὁ δέ γε[17] μακαριώτατος[18] Λέων, ἀναμαθὼν τὰ τοῦ δράματος[19] καὶ γνοὺς τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον αἴτιον ὄντα,[20] πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον[21] παραγίνεται[22] καὶ πείθει τοῦτον,[23] πληροφορίαν[24] τελείαν παρασχών,[25] μηδέποτε τὸν Χρύσην λευκὸν ἵππον κτήσασθαι καὶ ὅτι ταύτης τῆς φαντασιώδους ἀπάτης πρόξενος κατέστη ὁ λυμεὼν[26] Ἡλιόδωρος. Καὶ δὴ παραυτίκα

[a] Cf. Mac I 13:42 [b] Cf. Ps 49:21

BCXO E MV
[16] κακῶς: *om. E* || [17] δὲ - ἀπολλύμενον: *om. X* || [18] μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως: ἰσαγγέλου *E* || [19] θεράποντος: *add.* τοῦ *BCX* || [20] Χριστοῦ: *om. E*

29. [1] τὴν: *om. B* || [2] τυγχάνοντα: *iter. et postea eras. O V* || [3] μακαρίτου: μακαρίου *E* || [4] φησίν: *om. M* || [5] εξαίφνης: ἐξαίφης *M*, εὐθὺς *V* || [6] παρέστη: παρέστησεν *E* || [7] εὐθαλής: *om. BCXO* || [8] ἵππος – ὡραῖος: ἵππον λευκόν, εὐθαλῆ καὶ ὡραῖον *E* || [9] λίαν: *om. V* || [10] ὥστε: ὥσθε *M*

great archpriest and servant of Christ, Leo, that he no longer existed, nor was his place [of burial], even if someone looked for it, able to be found.

29. *Leo's nephew, Chryses, wins the races*

One day, when a horse race was taking place in Catania, Heliodorus said to a certain young man who was present, named Chryses, who was good looking, very beautiful, and ready for the contest, and who happened to be the nephew of the blessed Leo: "If you wish, my friend, I can make you a horse with which you could pass the others and defeat them all in front of the eparch." [Failing to] perceive the deception behind his spell, Chryses said, "I so wish. Do as you promised." Then, with these words, a beautiful and strong, white horse suddenly appeared before him. The youth mounted [the horse] and overtook the rest of the [contestants] in the race with such speed that everyone marveled, especially the eparch himself. When the horse race ended, the horse suddenly disappeared, for it was a demoniacal apparition. As one would expect, the astonished rider was left speechless.

30. *The eparch imprisons Chryses*

Then, Lucius the eparch immediately sent soldiers to bring back to him the rider along with his horse. When Chryses *stood before* him, Lucius said to him: "Bring that wondrous horse to us, for it is good enough to be sent to the Emperors. For it is not appropriate for anyone other than the rulers at the Imperial Palace to have such a swift horse." Unable to defend himself, the spellbound young man was held in shackles. When the most blessed Leo learned what had happened, knowing that Heliodorus was the cause, he approached Lucius, persuaded him, and completely assured him that Chryses never owned a white horse, and that the villainous Heliodorus was the agent of this fantastical

---

BCXO E MV

[11] ὕπαρχον: ἔπαρχον *E* || [12] αἰφνιδίως: *om. E* || [13] ἄφαντος: ἀφανὴς *BCX* || [14] ἐγεγόνει: ἐγένετο *E V* || [15] φάντασμα: φάσμα *BCXO*

30. [1] ἀποστέλλονται: *add.* στρατιῶται *E* || [2] Λουκίου: *om. E* || [3] ὑπάρχου: ἐπ- *M* || [4] στρατιῶται: *om. E* || [5] τοῦ: *om. BCX* || [6] τοῦ – ἑαυτὸν (αὐτὸν *BCX M*): *om. E* || [7] ἑαυτὸν: *add.* ἀγάγαι *E*, *add.* καὶ *M* || [8] παρέστη: παρεγένετο *E* || [9] κατὰ – αὐτοῦ: *om. E* || [10] Ἄγε δὴ: ἄγαγέ μοι *E* || [11] ἐκεῖνον: *add.* παρ' ἡμᾶς *BCX* || [12] οὐδὲ: οὐδὲν *M* || [13] ταχ(ε *E*)ινὸν: *om. BCXO* || [14] ἔχειν ἵππον: ἵπ. ἔχ. *BCX E* || [15] μόνοις τοῖς: μόναις ταῖς *O* || [16] τι: ἔτι *X* || [17] γε: *om. E* || [18] μακαριώτατος: μακάριος *E* || [19] δράματος: δράγματος *M* || [20] ὄντα: *om. V* || [21] Λούκιον: ὕπαρχον *E* || [22] πρὸς – παραγίνεται: παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον *BCX* || [23] καὶ – τοῦτον: *om. E* || [24] πληροφορίαν: πληροφορῶν αὐτὸν *E* || [25] τελείαν παρασχὼν: *om. E* || [26] λυμεὼν: *om. E*

τοῦτον προστάττει[27] παραστῆναι· παραστάντα γοῦν καὶ ἀνακριθέντα[28] καὶ τὸ δρᾶμα πᾶν ἐκκαλύψαντα,[29] τὸν μὲν παῖδα[30] περιπεσόντα πλάνῃ δι' ἐπαοιδίας τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος ἀθῳώσας[31] δίδωσι τῷ σεβασμίῳ[32] Λέοντι, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν[33] ἀπατήσαντα τοῦτον,[34] ὡς ῥᾳδιουργὸν καὶ δεινότατον ἄνδρα,[35] τῇ φρουρᾷ παραπεμφθῆναι[36] προσέταξεν.[37]

31. Πρὸς ἣν ἀπαγόμενος, διαλαθὼν τοὺς ἕλκοντας αὐτὸν στρατιώτας καὶ γῆθεν[1] λίθον ἀνελόμενος, διὰ τῆς συνήθους μαγγανείας[2] τοῦτον ἐχρύσωσεν[3] καί φησι πρὸς αὐτούς· "Ἐὰν ἄνετον ἀφῆτέ με[4] πορευθῆναι, δίδωμι ὑμῖν[5] ποσότητα χρυσίου[6] λιτρῶν τριῶν." Οἱ δὲ τὸ ὑπέρογκον[7] τοῦ χρήματος κερδᾶναι γλιχόμενοι,[8] "Δίδου[9] ἡμῖν," φασί,[10] "τὸ[11] ποσόν, καθάπερ[12] ὑπέσχου,[13] καὶ *χαίρων* ὅπου[14] βούλει[15] *πορεύθητι*.[16, a]" Ὁ δὲ[17] δίδωσιν[18] αὐτοῖς τὸν χρυσοειδῆ λίθον ἐκεῖνον·[19] κἀκεῖνοι περιχαρῶς τοῦτον λαβόντες, τὸν δόντα μὲν Ἡλιόδωρον[20] ἀφιᾶσι[21] πορεύεσθαι,[22] πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπαρχον ἀνθυποστρέψαντες,[23] λόγους οὐκ ἀληθεῖς πλασάμενοι, ἔφασαν[24] ὅτι·[25] "Περιπατοῦντος[26] αὐτοῦ[27] μεθ' ἡμῶν[28] δύναμίν τινα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐναντίαν[29] ἐπήγειρε, δι' ἧς[30] καὶ[31] καταρράξας ἡμᾶς πρὸς γῆν αὐτὸς[32] ἄφαντος[33] ἄφνω πεφηνὼς[34] ᾤχετο.[35]" Κἀκεῖνος, ὡς εἰκός, τεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, ὧν ἔδρασεν, ἐνδεχόμενον εἶναι καὶ[36] ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι[37] μαγικῆς κακουργίας δεινότητι,[38] ἀνευθύνους τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπέφηνεν.[39] Οἱ δὲ τὸν[40] νομιζόμενον χρυσὸν[41] διαμερίζειν[42] βουληθέντες, λίθον[43] εὗρον μηδαμῶς τῆς οἰκείας μεταβληθέντα ποιότητος,[44] ὃν καὶ ζυγοστατήσαντες[45] εὗρον ὁλκὴν[46] ἔχοντα[47] λιτρῶν τριῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔχειν προείρηκεν.[48]

[a] Cf. Act 5:41

BCXO E MV

[27] τοῦτον προστάττει: πρ. τ. *E* || [28] παραστάντα – ἀνακριθέντα: *om. E M* || [29] τὸ δρᾶμα – ἐκκαλύψαντα: πᾶντα δὲ ὁμολογήσας *E* || [30] παῖδα: *add.* ὁ ὕπαρχος *E* || [31] περιπεσόντα – ἀθῳώσας: *om. E* || [32] παραστάντα – σεβασμίῳ: παραστὰς γοῦν καὶ ἀνακριθείς, τὸ δρᾶμα πᾶν ἐξεκάλυψεν. Ὁ δὲ ἔπαρχος, τὸν μὲν νεανίαν πλάνῃ περιπεσόντα δι' ἐπαοιδίας τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος ἀθωώσας τῶ σεβασμίω δίδωσι *BCX* || [33] τὸν: *om. M* || [34] αὐτὸν – τοῦτον: τὸν δὲ ἀπαταιόνα Ἡλιόδωρον *E* || [35] ῥᾳδιουργὸν – ἄνδρα: δεινότατον ῥαδιουργὸν *BCXO, om. E* || [36] παραπεμφθῆναι: παρέπεμψεν *E*, παραπεφθῆναι *M* || [37] προσέταξεν *om. E*

31. [1] γῆθεν: ἀπὸ γῆς *E* || [2] διὰ – μαγγανείας: *om. E* || [3] ἐχρύσωσεν: *add.* τῇ γοήτεία αὐτοῦ *E* || [4] ἀφῆτέ με: με ἐάσειτε *E* || [5] δίδωμι ὑμῖν: δίδω ἡμὺν *M* || [6] χρυσίου: χρυσοῦ *M* || [7] τὸ ὑπέρογκον: τὸν ὄγκον *E* || [8] γλιχόμενοι: βουλόμενοι *E* || [9] δίδου: δὸς *E* || [10] φασί: *om. E* || [11] τὸ: τὸν *M* || [12] καθάπερ: ὡς *E* || [13] ὑπέσχου: *add.* φησὶν *E* || [14] ὅπου: ὅποι *BCX* || [15] ὅπου βούλει: *om. M* || [16] καὶ – πορεύθητι: *om. E* || [17] ὁ δὲ: καὶ *E* || [18] δίδωσιν: δοὺς *E* || [19] ἐκεῖνον: τοῦτον *E* || [20] κἀκεῖνοι – Ἡλιόδωρον: *om. E* || [21] ἀφιᾶσι: ἀφίεασαν *E*, ἀμφιᾶσι *M* || [22] πορεύεσθαι: *om. E*

deception. Immediately, Lucius commanded Heliodorus to present himself. When Heliodorus appeared, he was questioned and revealed the entire affair. So the eparch proclaimed innocent the youth who had fallen into error because of the scoundrel's spell, and handed him over to the venerable Leo. As for the one who deceived Chryses, Lucius commanded that he be sent to prison, for he was a most wicked and crafty man.

31. *Heliodorus bribes the men taking him to prison*

As Heliodorus was taken [to prison], he picked up a stone from the ground without the soldiers who were dragging him noticing. By his usual sorcery, he turned the stone into gold and said to the soldiers, "If you let me go free, I'll give you the sum of three pounds of gold." Eager for this great sum of money, they said: "Give us the sum you promised and go freely, to wherever you wish." So, Heliodorus gave them that golden-looking stone. The soldiers happily took what Heliodorus offered to them and permitted him to walk freely. When they returned to the eparch, the soldiers concocted a tale and said: "When he was walking with us, he stirred up some sort of adverse power against us, and after he threw us down to the ground, he suddenly disappeared and escaped." In the light of Heliodorus' previous actions, the eparch Lucius naturally thought it possible that he had [escaped] through the wickedness of his sorcerous evildoing. So, Lucius declared the soldiers innocent. When the soldiers wished to divide the purported gold, they found that it [was a stone] that had in no way been altered from its original state. They weighed it and found it to be three pounds, as Heliodorus had earlier said that it was.

BCXO E MV

[23] ἀνθυποστρέψαντες: ὑποστρέψαντες *E* || [24] ἔφασαν: ἔφησαν *E* || [25] ὅτι: ὅτιπερ *BCX* || [26] περιπατοῦντος: ὁδεύων *BCX* || [27] αὐτοῦ: *om. BCX* || [28] ἡμῶν: ὑμῶν *M* || [29] καθ' ἡμῶν ἐναντίαν: ἐν. κ. ἡμ. *E* || [30] δι' ἧς: *om. BCXO* || [31] καὶ: *om. E* || [32] αὐτὸς: *om. X* || [33] ἄφαντος: ἀφανὴς *BCX* || [34] ἄφνω πεφηνὼς: *om. B E*, αὐτὸς *CX* || [35] ᾤχετο: γέγονεν *E* || [36] ὡς εἰκός – καὶ: *om. E* || [37] συμβεβηκέναι: *add.* πιστεύσας *E* || [38] μαγικῆς – δεινότητι: *om. E* || [39] ἀνευθύνους – ἀπέφηνεν: τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεὐθύνους ὑπέφυνε *E* || [40] τὸν: τὸ *MV* || [41] χρυσὸν: χρυσίον *V* || [42] διαμερίζειν: διαμερίσαι *E* || [43] λίθον: *om. E* || [44] τῆς – ποιότητος: μεταβληθέντα τῆς οἰκείας ποιότιτος *E* || [45] λίθον – ζυγοστατήσαντες: *om. B* || [46] ὁλκὴν: σταθμὸν *E* || [47] ἔχοντα: *om. E* || [48] ἐκεῖνος – προείρηκεν: αὐτοῖς εἶπεν *E*

32. Ὁ τοίνυν συμπαθέστατος ποιμὴν Λέων, χριστομιμήτῳ χρηστότητι[1] χρώμενος τοῦ *μὴ βουλομένου τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτὸν*[a] καὶ[2] μὴ θέλων τὸν ἄθλιον κακῶς[3] ἀπολέσθαι[4] συναπολλύντα[5] πολλοὺς[6] τῇ τῆς μαγικῆς κακοδαιμονίας[7] ἐξαπάτῃ,[8] πολλάκις[9] μεταστελλόμενος τοῦτον πρὸς ἑαυτόν, παρακαλεῖν καὶ νουθετεῖν ἅμα καὶ παραινεῖν[10] οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν[11] παύσασθαι τῆς τοιαύτης[12] σατανικῆς μαγγανείας[13] καὶ τερατείας[14] εἰς πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας γινομένης τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ἀνθρώπων. Ὁ μέντοι δολιώτατος[15] Ἡλιόδωρος,[16] ὡς λῆρον λογιζόμενος τὰς σεπτὰς παραινέσεις καὶ νουθεσίας, οὐκ ἐπαύετο προκόπτειν[17] τοῖς χείροσιν, *προστιθεὶς* μᾶλλον *ἀνομίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν*[18] *αὐτοῦ*·[19,b] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀναιδείας καὶ[20] ἀσεβείας εἰς[21] ἄκρον ἤλασεν, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ[22] ἐκκλησίας ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ[23] κατατολμῆσαι διαπαίζειν καὶ χλευάζειν[24] τὰ[25] φρίκης ἄξια μεγάλα[26] μυστήρια.

33. Ἐν μιᾷ[1] γοῦν[2] τινι[3] τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἑορτῆς τινος[4] τελουμένης καὶ τοῦ σεβασμίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν[5] Λέοντος[6] τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν[7] ἐπιτελοῦντος, συνεισέδραμεν[8] καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δυσσεβὴς καὶ ἄφρων[9] Ἡλιόδωρος, ὡς δῆθεν χριστιανός, μετὰ τοῦ *πλήθους τῶν πιστευόντων*.[10,11,12,c] Εἰσελθὼν οὖν[13] εἰς τὸν θεῖον[14] ναὸν[15] ἤρξατο τὰ τῶν ἡμιόνων μιμεῖσθαι[16] λακτίσματα,[17] σκιρτῶν ἀτάκτως καὶ κατὰ πάντων παικτικῶς ἐφαλλόμενος καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰς γέλωτα κινῶν, ποτὲ δὲ[18] φλυαρίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις[19] αἰσχρῶν ῥημάτων εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐνάγων τοὺς συνεληλυθότας.[20] Ὡς δὲ τὰ τῆς θείας[21] ἱερουργίας[22] ἔτι[23] ἐτελεῖτο μυστήρια, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὁ ἄθλιος· "Δύναμαι νῦν[24] ποιῆσαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν[25] τοῦτον[26] σὺν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτοῦ[27] ἅλλεσθαι." Ὅπερ εἰπεῖν[28] μὲν καὶ ἐπαγγείλασθαι[29] ποιεῖν ἀθέως ἐτόλμησεν,[30] εἰς ἔργον δὲ ἀγαγεῖν[31] οὐδαμῶς δεδύνητο, τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀργὴν[32] καὶ[33] ἄπρακτον ἀποδειξάσης τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ προχωροῦσαν ἐναντίαν ἐνέργειαν.

[a] Cf. Ez 33:11 [b] Ps 68:28 [c] Cf. Act 4:32

BCXO E MV

32. [1] χρηστότητι: συμπαθεία *E* || [2] καὶ: *om. E* || [3] κακῶς: *om. E* || [4] ἀπολέσθαι: ἀπολωλέναι *BCX*, ἀπολύεσθαι *O* || [5] συναπολλύντα: σὺναπόλυντε *E*, -απολοῦντα *M* || [6] πολλούς: πολλοὶ *E* || [7] τῇ – κακοδαιμονίας: τῇ γοήτικῇ αὐτοῦ *E* || [8] ἐξαπάτῃ: ἀπάτῃ *E* || [9] πολλάκις: *add.* δὲ *E* || [10] παρακαλεῖν – παραινεῖν: παρακαλῶν καὶ παραινῶν (καὶ παραινῶν *om. E*) καὶ νουθετῶν *BCX E*, παρακαλεῖν καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ νουθετεῖν *O* || [11] ἐνέλιπεν: ἠνέσχετο *E* || [12] τοιαύτης: *om. E* || [13] μαγγανείας: *add.* ἀλλ' *E* || [14] καὶ τερατείας: *om. B* || [15] δολιώτατος: δυνώτατος *M* || [16] καὶ τερατείας – Ἡλιόδωρος: *om. E* || [17] προκόπτειν: προκόπτων *BCX E* || [18] τὴν ἀνομίαν: τῇ ἀνομίᾳ *V* || [19] προστιθεὶς – αὐτοῦ: *om. E* || [20] ἀναιδείας καὶ: *om. E* || [21] εἰς: *om. E* || [22] τοῦ Θεοῦ: *om. V* || [23] ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ: *om. E* || [24] καὶ χλευάζειν: *om. V* || [25] τὰ: μετὰ *M* || [26] μεγάλα: *om. E*

32. *Heliodorus disregards Leo's admonitions*

The most compassionate shepherd Leo displayed the kindness that imitated Christ, who *desires not the death of the ungodly,* but *that the ungodly should turn from his way and live.* Since Leo did not want the utter destruction of this wretched man, who had destroyed many by the gross deception of his magical sorcery, he summoned Heliodorus frequently and did not desist from beseeching, advising, and admonishing him to stop doing such satanic magic and incantations, which was becoming the cause of perdition among the simpler folks. However, the most treacherous Heliodorus considered Leo's solemn exhortations and admonitions to be nonsense, so he became even worse, *adding* more *iniquity to* his *iniquity.* Then he pushed shamelessness and impiety to such extreme that he attacked the holy church of God and boldly scoffed and jeered at its awesome great mysteries.

33. *Heliodorus causes turmoil in the church*

One day, when a feast was taking place and our reverent father Leo was celebrating the divine Eucharist, the irreverent and foolish Heliodorus, pretending to be a Christian, ran in with the *multitude of those who believe.* So entering the holy church, Heliodorus began to imitate the kicking of mules, leaping in a disorderly fashion and jumping playfully on everyone, sometimes making the congregation laugh, and other times making them indignant because of the silliness and blasphemy of his shameless words. While the mysteries of the holy liturgy were still being celebrated, the wretched [Heliodorus] said to those present: "I can make your bishop leap with his priests." But what he dared to say and tried impiously to do, Heliodorus was unable to accomplish in any way, for the divine power had made the adversarial power that coursed through him idle and ineffective.

BCXO E MV

33. [1] ἐν μιᾷ: μιᾶς *BCX* || [2] γοῦν: γὰρ *E* || [3] τινι: *om. BCX E* || [4] τινος: *om. E* || [5] ἡμῶν: *om. BCX E* || [6] Λέοντος: *om. E* || [7] μυσταγωγίαν: λειτουργίαν *E* || [8] συνεισέδραμεν: συνέδραμεν *BCX E* || [9] καὶ ἄφρων: *om. E* || [10] συνεισέδραμεν – πιστευόντων: μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πϊστεβώντων σΰνησέδραμε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δϋσεβῆς καὶ άφρων Ἡλιόδωρος, ὡς δῆθεν χρηστιανός *M* || [11] πιστευόντων: πιστῶν *BCX E*, πιστευ(β *M*)ώντων *MV* || [12] πιστευόντων: *add.* καὶ *E* || [13] οὖν: δὲ *BCX*, *om. O E* || [14] θεῖον: *om. E* || [15] ναὸν: νεὼν *B*, νεὼν α *supra* ε *scripto C* || [16] μιμεῖσθαι: πράττειν *E* || [17] λακτίσματα: λακτίζειν *E* || [18] δὲ: *add.* εἰς E || [19] φλυαρίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις: βλασφημίας καὶ φλυαρίας *E* || [20] εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν – συνεληλυθότας: εἰς ἀγ. τ. συνελ. ἐνάγ. *BCX*, ἐνάγων εἰς ἀγανάκτισιν τῶν συνεληλυθότων *E* || [21] θείας: *om. BCXO* || [22] ἱερουργίας: λειτουργείας *E* || [23] ἔτι: *om. E* || [24] νῦν: *om. E* || [25] ὑμῶν: ἡμῶν *M* || [26] τοῦτον: *om. E* || [27] αὐτοῦ: *om. MV* || [28] εἰπεῖν: εἶπεν *E* || [29] ἐπαγγείλασθαι: ἐπηγγεί(ή *E*)λατο *X E* || [30] ἀθέως ἐτόλμησεν: *om. E* || [31] δὲ ἀγαγεῖν: δϊ ἄγειν *M* || [32] ἀργὴν: ἀργεῖν *O M* || [33] ἀργὴν καὶ: *om. E*

34. Γνοὺς δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀναιδῆ δυσσέβειαν[1] τοῦ ματαιόφρονος ὁ θεοφόρος πατὴρ ἡμῶν,[2] κλίνας τὸ γόνυ[3] προσηύξατο, τὴν ἄνωθεν συμμαχίαν συνήθως[4] ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτῷ δυσωπῶν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν δρομαίως[5] προελθὼν[6] ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τοῦ θείου ναοῦ, τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον ἐκεῖσε καταλαμβάνει·[7] κατὰ δὲ[8] τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτοῦ[9] τὸ ὠμοφόριον[10,11] περιειλήσας τὸ ἴδιον[12] καὶ δεσμεύσας ἰσχυρῶς λέγει· "Ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι[13] κύριος ὁ Θεός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,[14] ὁ καταρράξας ὡς ἀστραπὴν οὐρανόθεν τὸν κατὰ τῆς θείας θεαρχίας τραχηλιάσαντα διάβολον, τὸν σὸν μυσταγωγὸν καὶ πατέρα, ὡς[15] μηκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ δύνασθαι[16] ἐνεργεῖν τὰς μαγείας σου[17] πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ *ἀπώλειαν πολλῶν.*[a]" Καὶ[18] ταῦτα εἰπών, ἕλκων αὐτὸς[19] δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀποφέρει τὸν ἀλιτήριον εἰς τόπον[20] καλούμενον Ἀχίλλιον, κολαστήριον ὄντα τῶν καταδίκων. Πρὸς ὃν ἀφικόμενος,[21] παρεσκεύασεν αὐτὸν πρότερον ἐκπομπεῦσαι πᾶσαν τὴν σατανικὴν αὐτοῦ[22] μαγγανείαν[23] καὶ γοητείαν, πῶς τε[24] καὶ τίνι[25] τρόπῳ[26] καὶ πότε καὶ διὰ τί[27] τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξωμόσατο.[28] Ἔπειτα προσέταξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους πυρκαϊὰν ἀναφθῆναι μεγίστην,[29] καὶ τούτου κατὰ[30] τάχος[31] γενομένου,[32] δεδεμένον[33] τοῦτον[34] ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου κατέχων[35] εἰσῆλθεν *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς* ἀναφθείσης *καμίνου*[b] καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη, μέχρις[36] ἂν εἰς τέλος ἀπετεφρώθη ὁ δείλαιος. Ὃς δίκῃ δικαίᾳ διὰ πυρὸς παραδόξως ἀναλωθείς, ὡς πυρὸς κληρονόμος, πρὸς πῦρ ἀπεδήμησεν ἀτελεύτητον. Ὁ δὲ μέγας ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι σημειοφόρος[37] καὶ θαυματουργὸς ἐν ὁσίοις Λέων, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἀλώβητος ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς ἐξελθὼν εἰς θάμβος μέγιστον[38] τοὺς ὁρῶντας περιέστησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνδυμάτων αὐτοῦ μηδαμῶς τῇ φλογὶ λωβηθέντων τὸ σύνολον,[39] κατὰ τὴν[40] τῶν[41] ἐν Βαβυλῶνι πάλαι παίδων τερατουργίαν, πρὸς μείζονα κατάπληξιν[42] τῆς πάντα νοῦν καὶ λόγον[43] ὑπερβαινούσης[44] θείας δυνάμεως ἅπαντας συνεκίνησε, μεγάλαις φωναῖς μεγαλύνοντας καὶ δοξάζοντας τὸ ὑπερύμνητον ὄνομα τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος.[45]

[a] Cf. Dan Th 8:25 [b] Cf. Dan 3:25

BCXO E MV

34. [1] ἀναιδῆ δυσσέβειαν: ἀναιδοῖ.αν *et* δϋσέβη *in margine supra* ἀναιδοῖ.αν *M* || [2] πατὴρ ἡμῶν: Λέων *BCX* || [3] τὸ γόνυ: τὰ γόνατα *E* || [4] συνήθως: *om. E* || [5] δρομαίως: -ος *B E* || [6] προελθὼν: προσελθὼν *X*, ἐξελθὼν *E* || [7] καταλαμβάνει: κατέλαβεν *M* || [8] κατὰ δὲ: καὶ κατὰ *BCX* || [9] τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτοῦ (τούτου *O*): τοῦ αὐτοῦ τραχήλου *MV* || [10] ὠμοφόριον: ὠμόφορον *BX E* || [11] ὠμοφόριον: *add.* (ἑαυ- *BC*) αὐτοῦ *BCXO MV* || [12] τὸ ἴδιον: *om. BCXO MV* || [13] σοι: *add.* σε *E* || [14] μου – Χριστὸς: *om. BCX*, Ἰησοῦς *O* || [15] ὡς: *om. BCXO*, τοῦ *E* || [16] τοῦ λοιποῦ δύνασθαι: *om. E* || [17] μαγείας σου: σὰς μαγείας *BCX* || [18] καὶ: *om. BCXO* || [19] αὐτὸς: αὐτῶν *V* || [20] τόπον: τὸν *E* || [21] ἀφικόμενος: -μενοι *O* || [22] αὐτοῦ: *om. E M* || [23] μαγγανείαν: μαγίαν *M* || [24] πῶς τε: *om. E*, πῶς *BCXO*

34. *Leo burns Heliodorus alive*

When our God-inspired father realized that the foolish Heliodorus was shameless and impious, he knelt down and prayed, entreating his heavenly alliance to help him, as usual. After the prayer, Leo ran swiftly into the narthex of the divine church, seized Heliodorus, and wrapped his *pallium* around Heliodorus' neck. Binding him by force, Leo said: "My Lord God, Jesus Christ rebukes you, He who dashed down, as lightning from heaven, the Devil, your mystagogue and father, who revolted against the divine Godhead, so that you are no longer able henceforth to work your magic to deceive and *destroy many* [people]." After saying these [words], Leo, all by himself, dragged the guilty man to the place called Achillion, which was an execution site for the condemned. When they arrived there, Leo, first, made Heliodorus reveal his satanic magic and sorcery: how, in what manner, when, and why he abjured Christ. Then he commanded that a great pyre be ignited by the crowd. When this happened quickly, Leo, grasping this fettered man by the throat, entered into the ignited furnace and did not emerge from it until the wicked man was finally reduced to ashes. For, by a just judgment, Heliodorus was paradoxically destroyed through fire — just as he was the heir to fire, so he returned to the eternal flame. But, the great sign-bearer among bishops and wonder-worker among Saints, Leo, not only emerged unharmed from the flame, to the great astonishment of those watching, but also, since his sacred vestments were in no way damaged by the flame, (just like the miracle long ago of the children in Babylon), he moved them all to even greater amazement of the divine power, which surpasses all thought and word, so they loudly exalted and glorified the highly extolled name of the triune divinity.

BCXO E MV

[25] τίνι: τίνα *M* || [26] τρόπῳ: τρό *E* || [27] καὶ – διὰ τί: *om. E* || [28] ἐξωμόσατο: ἐξηρνήσατο *E* || [29] πυρκαϊὰν - μεγίστην: πυρκαϊὰν μεγάλην ἀναφθῆναι *X* || [30] κατὰ: *τὸ E* || [31] τάχος: τάχους *O* || [32] γενομένου: γεγενημένου *M* || [33] δεδεμένον: δέδωκεν *M* || [34] τοῦτον: *om. V* || [35] ἐκ τοῦ – κατέχων: κατέχων ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου *BCXO E* || [36] μέχρις: ἕως *E* || [37] σημειοφόρος: *om. E* || [38] θάμβος μέγιστον: θά μέγα *M* || [39] τῇ – σύνολον: λωβηθέντων τὸ σύνολον τῇ φλογὶ *BCX* || [40] τὴν: *om. E* || [41] τῶν: *om. X* || [42] κατάπληξιν: κατὰ *E* || [43] λόγον: λόγου *M* || [44] ὑπερβαινούσης: *add.* διὰ *M* || [45] μεγάλαις – τρισυποστάτου θεότητος: *om. E*, μεγάλαις – τρισυπ. θεαρχίας *BCXO*

35. Τούτου τὴν φήμην τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης[1] θαυματουργοῦ ἁγιότητος μέχρι τερμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξενεχθεῖσαν οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες ἐνωτισθέντες, πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διὰ παρακλητικῶν γραμμάτων[2] μετεστείλαντο, τῆς τούτου μετασχεῖν εὐχῆς καὶ εὐλογίας γλιχόμενοι. Ὃν καὶ παραγενόμενον, εὐλαβῶς ἄγαν[3] καὶ σεβασμίως τιμήσαντες, ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ μετὰ δέους ἐσεβάσθησαν,[4] ὁρῶντες μάλιστα[5] τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ[6] μένουσαν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος, τήν τε τῆς ἀγγελικῆς διαγωγῆς σεμνοπρέπειαν καὶ λαμπρότητα[7] καὶ τὴν[8] τῶν ἀπορρήτων τεραστίων ἐνέργειαν. Οὓς ἐπὶ πλέον[9] μᾶλλον κατέπληττεν καὶ ἄλλα μὲν πλεῖστα *κατὰ πρόσωπον*[10] *αὐτῶν*[a] τερατουργῶν,[11] ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τούτους μειζόνως θαμβεῖσθαι συνεκίνησεν,[12] ὁρῶντας αὐτὸν ἀναφθέντας ἄνθρακας ἀκαταφλέκτως ἐν τῷ[13] ἱματίῳ αὐτοῦ περιφέροντα καὶ θυμιῶντα.[14]

36. Τούτου τὸν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον καὶ[1] ὑπερθαύμαστον βίον ἐθαύμασαν μὲν ἄγγελοι καὶ λίαν ἠγάσθησαν διὰ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς λαμπρότητος, *δαίμονες*[b] δὲ[2] δεδιότες[3] σφόδρα κατέπτηξαν διὰ τὴν δεδομένην αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ *κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν*·[b] ἄνθρωποι ἐθαμβήθησαν καὶ σεπτῶς[4] ἐσεβάσθησαν[5] διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἁγιωσύνης καὶ τὸ τῆς σεμνοπρεπείας ἀξιάγαστον·[6] αἱρετικῶν στῖφος *ἀπὸ φωνῆς βροντῆς*[c] τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ *ἐδειλίασεν*[7,8] καὶ[9] *ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμήσεως*[10,c] τῆς ἀτρέπτου περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνστάσεως αὐτοῦ[11] ἐδραπέτευσεν·[12] Ἑλλήνων πλήθη τῇ τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας αὐτοῦ δυνάμει σαφῶς[13] ἐληλεγμένα ἐφιμώθησαν εἰς τέλος καὶ κατησχύνθησαν, *χεῖρα θέντα*[14] *ἐπὶ στόματος*·[15,16,d] παθῶν ἑσμὸς ἐξ ἀρρωστούντων ἀπελήλαται τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος· ὀφθαλμοὶ πεπηρωμένοι τὸ φῶς αὖθις[17] ἀπελάμβανον,[18] ὦτα κωφεύοντα παραδόξως διηνοίγετο,[19] χεῖρες παρειμέναι τὴν δραστικὴν παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐνέργειαν ἐκομίζοντο, πόδες ἀλγοῦντες[20] καὶ σκάζοντες ἐδυναμοῦντο πρὸς εὐδρομίαν καταρτιζόμενοι,[21] πᾶσά τε λώβη

[a] Cf. inter plura Ez 10:22, 36:31, 42:11 [b] Cf. Luc 9:1 [c] Cf. Ps 103:7 [d] Cf. Iob 40:4

BCXO E M (usque ad **36**.7: ἐπιτιμήσεως) V

35. [1] ὑπερβαλλούσης: *om. E* || [2] γραμμάτων: *add.* αὐτὸν *BCX* || [3] ἄγαν: ἅμα *MV* || [4] ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ (καὶ *om. O*) μετὰ δέους ἐσεβάσθησαν: μετὰ δέους ἀπεδέξαντο *BCX* || [5] ὁρῶντες μάλιστα: μ. ὁρ. *E* || [6] ἐν αὐτῷ: ἑάυτõν *M* || [7] τήν τε – λαμπρότητα: *om. E* || [8] τὴν: *om. B* || [9] ἐπὶ πλέον: ἐπïπλέων *M* || [10] κατὰ πρόσωπον: ἐπίπροσθεν *BCXO* || [11] οὕς – τερατουργῶν: *om. E* || [12] μειζόνως θαμβεῖσθαι συνεκίνησεν: ἐκίνησε πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον θαμβεῖσθαι *BCXO* || [13] τῷ: *om. BCXO E* || [14] καὶ θυμιῶντα: *om. E*

35. *Leo impresses the Emperors*

When the Emperors of that time heard a report of Leo's unsurpassed, miracle-working holiness, a report that had reached the boundaries of the *oikoumene*, they, wishing to partake of his prayer and blessing, summoned Leo with a letter pleading [him]. When Leo arrived, they honored and received him reverently and devoutly, filled with pious awe — especially when they saw the spiritual grace that dwelt in him, the dignity and splendor of his angelic way of life, and the working of his ineffable wonders. Leo amazed the Emperors even more when he performed many more [miracles] in their presence. And they were especially astonished when they saw him carrying around lighted coals in his cloak and burning incense without getting scorched.

36. *Praise for Leo's words and deeds*

The angels wondered at the most admirable life of this man Leo that surpassed a human being, and marveled at his affinity to the brightness, while *the demons* feared him greatly and cowered because of *the power and authority* given to him by God against them. People were astounded and revered Leo piously because of his abundant holiness and admirable dignity. The swarm of heretics *took to flight at the sound of thunder* of the right dogmas, and *fled at the rebuke* of his immutable stance for the faith. Throngs of Greeks, clearly refuted by the power of his God-inspired wisdom, were finally silenced and put to shame, *laying their hand on their mouth*. A host of diseases was expelled from the sick by the power of the spiritual grace given to him. Eyes that were blinded received the light again; ears that were deaf were unexpectedly opened; hands that were paralyzed surprisingly recovered their power of movement; feet that lay idle and limping were strengthened, restored for running well. Every bodily mutilation and every affected limb received the appropriate treatment

---

BCXO E MV

36. [1] ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον καὶ: *om. BCXO*, ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον *V* || [2] δὲ: *om. E* || [3] δεδιότες: *om. BCX*, δεδοίοτε *M* || [4] ἐθαμβήθησαν – σεπτῶς: *om. E* || [5] ἐσεβάσθησαν: κατεπλάγησαν *BCX* || [6] διὰ τὴν – ἀξιάγαστον: *om. M* || [7] ἐδειλίασεν: -αν *BCX* || [8] ἐδειλίασεν: *add.* οὖν δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαβήθησαν καὶ σεπτῶς ἐσεβάσθησαν διὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλον τῆς ἁγιοσύνης καὶ τὸ τῆς σεμνοπρεπείας ἀξίωμα καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιτυμήσεως *M* || [9] καὶ: *om. V* || [10] *post* ἐπιτιμήσεως *M desinit mutilus* || [11] αὐτοῦ: *post* ἀτρέπτου *transp. BCXO* || [12] ἐδραπέτευσεν: -αν *BCX* || [13] σαφῶς: σοφῶς *BCX* || [14] θέντα: -ες *B* || [15] στόματος: στῶμα *V* || [16] αἱρετικῶν στῖφος – στόματος: *om. E* || [17] αὖθις: *om. E* || [18] ἀπελάμβανον: ὑπελάμβ.- *O* || [19] διηνοίγετο: -οντο *E*, διηνοίγονται *V* || [20] ἀλγοῦντες: ἀργοῦντες *O* || [21] χεῖρες – καταρτιζόμενοι: *om. E*

σωματικὴ καὶ πᾶν μέλος ἐμπαθὲς δι' ἐπιθέσεως[22] χειρῶν καὶ προσευχῆς τὴν κατάλληλον θεραπείαν ἐδέχετο.[23] Ταῦτά τε καὶ τά[24] τούτων μείζονα[25] παραδόξως ἐνεργῶν ἐξαίσια,[26] ὑπερφυῶς, ὡς εἰκός, ὁ θαυμάσιος[27] ἐθαυμάζετο,[28,29] οὐ μόνον ἔτι[30] περιὼν μετὰ σώματος[31] ὡς ἰσάγγελος,[32] ἀλλά γε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μετάστασιν καὶ[33] πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνδημίαν[34] οὐδαμῶς διαλιμπάνων[35] εὑρίσκεται τὰ παραπλήσια, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ παραδοξότερα, κρεῖσσον εἰπεῖν, ὁσημέραι[36] τῶν θαυμασίων ἐπιδεικνύμενος.[37,38] Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ κατ' αὐτὴν[39] τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἱερᾶς[40] κοιμήσεως αὐτοῦ[41] τὸ πάντων μέγιστον ἐξειργάσθη τεράστιον παρ' αὐτοῦ, δεσποτικῆς[42] προσμαρτυροῦν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως ὁμοίωσιν καὶ ἐνεργείας ἰσότητα.[43]

37. Γυνὴ γάρ τις[1] ἐκ γένους[2] καταγομένη συγκλητικοῦ, τῆς δὲ Συρακουσίων[3,4] ὁρμωμένη[5] μητροπόλεως *ἐν*[6] *ῥύσει αἵματος*[a] γεγενημένη[7] πᾶσάν τε[8] τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῇ[9] περιουσίαν εἰς ἰατροὺς καταναλώσασα,[10] παραμυθίας τοῦ πάθους οὐδεμιᾶς[11] ἀπώνατο.[12] Τότε δή,[13] κατά τινα[14] θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν, ἀπανίσταται[15] τῆς πατρίδος[16] καὶ[17] πρὸς τὸν πανθαύμαστον[18] τοῦτον[19] θεραπευτὴν[20] παραγίνεται. Ὁπηνίκα δὲ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀρειανὴν[21] πύλην τῆς πόλεως[22] κατέλαβεν, ἠκροάσατο[23] κρούματος[24] τοῦ σημαντῆρος, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, δηλοῦντος πᾶσι τοῦ θεσπεσίου τούτου ποιμένος[25] τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ δραμοῦσα σπουδῇ πολλῇ καὶ πίστει[26] μετὰ δακρύων προσέπεσεν τῷ τιμίῳ[27] λειψάνῳ, ἐπιζητοῦσα τὴν ἴασιν. Παραχρῆμα δὲ παραδόξῳ τρόπῳ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ θανατηφόρου ῥύακος[28] τῶν αἱμάτων ἀποφραγείσης, τῆς θεραπείας ἐπέτυχεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν[29] πατρίδα[30] ὑπέστρεψε χαίρουσα, διηγουμένη πᾶσι τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλα θαυμάσια καὶ μεγαλύνουσα τὸν αὐτοῦ γνήσιον θεράποντα.[31]

38. Κεκοίμηται τοιγαροῦν[1] οὗτος ὁ περιβόητος ἐν θαυματουργοῖς[2] καὶ μέγας ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι Χριστοῦ Λέων κατὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν[3] ἡμέραν[4] τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, παραδοὺς *εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος*[b] διὰ θεοειδῶν

[a] Mk 5:25; Luc 8:43 [b] Hb 10:31

BCX (omissis verbis ab [**36**.18] ὑπερφυῶς usque ad [**38**.8] περικαλλεῖ) O E V

[22] δι' ἐπιθέσεως: δια θέσεως *V* || [23] ἐδέχετο: ἐδέχοντο *E* || [24] τὰ: *om. E* || [25] μείζονα: μείζω *BCX* || [26] ἐξαίσια: *om. E* || [27] ὡς εἰκός – θαυμάσιος: *om. E* || [28] ὡς εἰκός – ἐθαυμάζετο: ὁ θαυμάσιος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐθαυμάζετο, *BC* || [29] ἐθαυμάζετο: ἐδοξάζετο *V* || [30] ἔτι: *om. E* || [31] μετὰ σώματος: ἐν τῶ σώματι *E* || [32] ὡς ἰσάγγελος: *om. E* || [33] μετάστασιν (*om. O*) καὶ: *om. BC E* || [34] ἐνδημίαν: ἐκδημίαν *BC E* || [35] διαλιμπάνων: καταλιμπάνων *E* || [36] ὁσημέραι: ὡς εἰ μέραι *V* || [37] ἐπιδεικνύμενος: ἐπιδείκνυται *BC* || [38] κρεῖσσον – ἐπιδεικνύμενος: *om. E* || [39] αὐτὴν: *om. E* || [40] ἱερᾶς: *om. BCO*, ἱερὰν *ante* ἡμέραν *transp. E* || [41] κοιμήσεως αὐτοῦ: αὐτ. κ. *BC* || [42] δεσποτικῆς: -ικὴν *O* || [43] δεσποτικῆς – ἰσότητα: *om. E*

through the laying on of hands and prayer. The wondrous Leo was naturally admired very much for these works and for the even greater extraordinary deeds that he miraculously performed. He never failed to perform similar miracles not only when he was still alive in his angelic body, but, indeed, even after his removal from here and sojourn to God. Rather, to say it better, he performs even more spectacular miracles day after day. Remarkably, he accomplished the greatest wonder of all on the very day of his holy dormition, which bears witness to the fact that his power and actions resembled those of the Lord.

37. *A noble woman from Syracuse is cured of her hemorrhage*

A certain woman, who came from a family of senatorial rank, originally from the metropolis of Syracuse, was afflicted *with an issue of blood.* Although she spent all her wealth on physicians, she did not get any relief from her suffering. So, she left her native city, according to some divine revelation, and came to this all-wonderful healer. As soon as she arrived at the city gate called Areian, she heard the stroke of the *semantron*, which, as is the custom, declared to all the death of this divine shepherd. Running quickly and faithfully, she tearfully prostrated herself before his venerable remains, seeking a cure. Immediately, the source of her deadly hemorrhage was unexpectedly blocked up, and she received her cure. She returned to her homeland rejoicing and described to all the great wonders of God, exalting his noble servant.

38. *Leo is buried in the* martyrion *of St. Lucia*

Leo, famous among wonder-workers and great among the bishops of Christ, died on the twentieth day of the month of February, entrusting his immaculate, pure soul *into the hands of the living God* through the God-

---

BCO E V

37. [1] τις: τῆς *E* || [2] γένους: *add.* μέν *BC* || [3] Συρακουσίων: Συρακούσης *E* || [4] Συρακουσίων: *add.* πόλεως *E* || [5] ὁρμωμένη: -ης *E* || [6] μητροπόλεως ἐν: *om. E* || [7] γεγενημένη: γεγονυῖα *E* || [8] τε: *om. E* || [9] αὐτῇ: αὐτης *E* || [10] καταναλώσασα: ἀναλώσασα *BC* || [11] παραμυθίας – οὐδεμιᾶς: παραμυθίαν οὐδεμίαν τοῦ πάθους *E* || [12] ἀπώνατο: ἤσθετο *BC* || [13] τότε δή: τηνικαῦτα *BC* || [14] τινα: *om. E* || [15] ἀπανίσταται: *om. E* || [16] πατρίδος: *add.* ἀπάρασα *E* || [17] καὶ: *om. E* || [18] πανθαύμαστον: ἄμισθον *BC* || [19] πανθαύμαστον τοῦτον: *om. E* || [20] θεραπευτὴν: *add.* τοῦ Χριστοῦ *E* || [21] καλουμένην Ἀρειανὴν: *om. E* || [22] τῆς πόλεως: *om. BCO* || [23] ἠκροάσατο: ἤκουσε *E* || [24] κρούματος: *om. E* || [25] θεσπεσίου – ποιμένος: θεοπνεύστου ποιμένος τοῦδε *V*, ὁσίου *E* || [26] πολλῇ καὶ πίστει: *om. E* || [27] τιμίῳ: τιμί *E* || [28] ῥύακος: ῥεύματος *BC* || [29] τὴν οἰκειαν: τὰ οἰκία *E* || [30] πατρίδα: *om. E* || [31] διηγουμένη – θεράποντα: *om.* E

38. [1] τοιγαροῦν: δὲ *E* || [2] περιβόητος – θαυματουργοῖς: ὅσιος *E* || [3] εἰκοστὴν: εἰκοστὴν πρώτην *V* || [4] ἡμέραν: *om. BC E*

ἀγγέλων τὴν ἀκηλίδωτον καὶ καθαρωτάτην[5] αὐτοῦ ψυχήν. Τὸ δὲ ταύτης[6] τίμιον σκήνωμα,[7] τῇ τῶν ποικίλων ἀρετῶν λαμπρότητι[8] καὶ τῇ τῶν πολυειδῶν χαρισμάτων τερπνότητι κεκοσμημένον καὶ[9] μεμυρισμένον,[10] σεμνοπρεπῶς κηδευθὲν καὶ σεβασμίως ἐκκομισθέν,[11] ἐναπετέθη[12] θήκαις ὁσίαις ἐν[13] περικαλλεῖ[14] μαρτυρικῷ[15] σηκῷ[16] Λουκίας τῆς καλλίστης[17] παρθενομάρτυρος,[18,19] ὅνπερ αὐτὸς οὗτος, ὡς λίαν φιλόμαρτυς, καθάπερ[20] καὶ πρόσθεν εἴρηται, εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῆς καὶ δόξαν Θεοῦ ἐκ βάθρων φιλοπόνως ἀνῳκοδόμησεν. Ἔδει γάρ, ἔδει πάντως τὸν συνόμιλον ἀγγέλοις τῷ βίῳ καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσιν ἐν πόνοις[21] ἐφάμιλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν οὐρανῷ τούτοις συνδιαιτώμενον, οὕτω κἀν[22] τῇ γῇ σύσκηνον ἀναδείκνυσθαι.[23] Τὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης[24] αὐτοῦ δαψιλὲς καὶ ἱλαρὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν διὰ παντὸς ἐναργῶς βεβαιούμενον δείκνυται διὰ τοῦ[25] βρύοντος[26] ἀεννάως[27] μυριπνόου ἐλαίου[28] ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου[29] σεβασμίας σοροῦ,[30] πάσης ἀρρωστίας χρηματίζον ἀκεσώδυνον φάρμακον[31] καὶ παντὸς πάθους ἀνιαροῦ[32] ἰατήριον τοῖς εὐλαβῶς μεταλαμβάνουσιν.

39. Ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν οὐρανίων ἐραστὰ καὶ κληρονόμε Λέον, ὁ λέων[1] ὡς ἀληθῶς πεφηνὼς[2] καὶ *πεποιθὼς ὡς λέων*,[a] ὦ βασιλεῦ τῶν δουλικῶν παθῶν κράτιστε καὶ τῶν τυραννικῶν ἐχθρῶν δραστικώτατε καθαιρέτα, ὁ τῶν αἱρετιζόντων τὸ στῖφος ὡς ἀλώπεκας ὑπούλους βασιλικῷ τῷ[3] βρυχήματι καταπλήττων καὶ ἀπελαύνων, τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν ὀρθοδόξων[4] δόγμασι στερροῖς καὶ διδάγμασι σοφοῖς συγκροτῶν καὶ καταρτίζων, ὁ[5] δυνατὸς *ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ γενόμενος*[b] καὶ κατ' ἀμφοῖν[6] διαλάμπων δίκην ἡλίου πᾶσι τοῖς πέρασιν, ὁ τοῖς μεγίστοις τεραστίοις καὶ θαύμασιν οὐ τοὺς πάλαι προφήτας μόνον ὑπερβαλών, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μεγάλοις πρωταποστόλοις συναμιλλώμενος, ὦ ποιμὴν θεοπρόβλητε,[7] λαμπτὴρ θεοπύρσευτε καὶ πατὴρ χριστομίμητε,[8] ὦ μιμητὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων[9] καὶ

[a] Prov 28:1 [b] Luc 24:19

BCX (a verbis [38.8] μαρτυρικῷ) O E V S (ab [38.16] usque ad [39.2] ἀληθῶς πεφην])
[5] ἀκηλίδωτον καὶ καθαρωτάτην: *om. E* || [6] ταύτης: *om. E* || [7] σκήνωμα: *add.* αὐτοῦ *E* || [8] λαμπρότητι: λαμπρότη *E* || [9] καὶ τῇ τῶν – κεκοσμημένον καὶ: *om. E* || [10] καὶ μεμυρισμένον: *om. BC* || [11] καὶ – ἐκκομισθέν: *om. E* || [12] ἐναπετέθη: ἐναπεθησαυρίσθη *O E* || [13] ἐν: *add.* τῷ *BC* || [14] περικαλλεῖ: *add.* καὶ *BCX* || [15] μαρτυρικῷ: *om. E* || [16] σηκῷ: *om. B*, οἴκω *E* || [17] καλλίστης: *om. E* || [18] παρθενομάρτυρος: μάρτυρος *E* || [19] παρθενομάρτυρος: *add.* ναῷ *B* || [20] καθάπερ: καθὰ *E V* || [21] ἐν πόνοις: *om. X* || [22] κἀν: καὶ *E* || [23] ἀναδείκνυσθαι: ἀναδύκνυαι *E* || [24] ἐλεημοσύνης: ἐλεημσύνης *E* || [25] τοῦ: *om. E* || [26] βρύοντος: βρύεντος *E* || [27] ἀεννάως: *om.* V

like angels. The precious tabernacle of his soul, adorned and anointed with the brilliance of assorted virtues and the delight of many charisms, which was solemnly attended and reverently carried out [in procession], was laid to rest in [a] hallowed coffin in the very beautiful *martyrion* of Lucia, the best virgin martyr. This very sepulcher, the martyr-lover Leo, as was also said earlier, industriously built up from the foundation for the honor of this woman and for the glory of God. For it was, indeed, necessary in every way, that — since he was an associate of the angels in [his way of] life and a match for the martyrs in [his] toils — as he leads his life in heaven with them, so too is he to share his abode on earth [with them]. His abundant and joyful charity, actively confirmed by all, along with his other good deeds, is demonstrated through the abounding, ever-flowing, sweet-scented oil [emanating] from that revered coffin, which acts as a pain-allaying elixir for every illness and as a cure for every grievous affliction for those who partake of it devoutly.

39. *Author praises the Saint*

O lover and heir of things heavenly, Leo, who appeared truly as a lion, and was *confident as a lion*; O mightiest king of the servile passions, and most efficacious slayer of the tyrannical enemies, the one who terrifies and drives away with an imperial roar the array of heretics like deceitful foxes, training and restoring the orthodox people with solid dogmas and wise teachings; the one who became *mighty in deed and word*, and shone through both like the sun to the four corners of the earth; the one who exceeds not only the prophets of old in great wonders and marvels, but also rivals the great first apostles themselves; O God-appointed shepherd, O God-kindled lamp and Christ-imitating father, O imitator of the apostles and emulator of the fathers, *instructor of the*

BCXO E V

[28] ἀεννάως – ἐλαίου: ἐλαίου ἀεννάως *BCX* || [29] ἐκείνου: -ης *O* || [30] σοροῦ: *add.* ὃ *BCX* || [31] χρηματίζον (-ων *E V*) – φάρμακον: ἀκεσώδυνον φάρμακον χρηματίζει *BCX* || [32] ἀνιαροῦ: ἀνιέρου *E*

39. [1] ὁ λέων: *om. E* || [2] πεφηνὼς: πέφηνας *E* || [3] τῷ: *om. O* || [4] τῶν ὀρθοδόξων: τὸν ὀρθόδοξον *O* || [5] ὁ: ὡς *E* || [6] κατ' ἀμφοῖν: κατάμφω *BX* || [7] θεοπρόβλητε: *add.* καὶ *E* || [8] πατὴρ χριστομίμητε: χριστομίμητε πάτερ *BCX* || [9] ἀποστόλων: πατέρων *BCXO*

ζηλωτὰ τῶν πατέρων,[10] *παιδευτὰ τῶν ἀφρόνων*,[a] προνοητὰ τῶν ἀπόρων,[11, 12] ὑπερασπιστὰ πενομένων, ὀλοθρευτὰ τῶν ἀθέων καὶ πρεσβευτὰ τῶν σῶν[13] προσφύγων θερμότατε, εὐμενῶς δέχοιο[14] τὰ παρόντα νηπιώδη ψελλίσματα ἐξ ἀτέχνου διανοίας καὶ γλώττης πόθῳ πολλῷ προσφερόμενα καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο πίστει πολλῇ προτρεψαμένοις τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτέλειαν χάρισαι εἰρήνην, εὐημερίαν, εὐρωστίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς αἰώνιον.

40. Ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τὴν ὑπακοὴν[1] ἀντὶ τῆς παρακοῆς μᾶλλον[2] ἑλομένοις καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν τὰ σὰ διεξελθοῦσι θαυμάσια, τῆς προθυμίας[3] ἀποδεξάμενος, δώρησαι κακῶν ἀποτροπήν, πειρασμῶν ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἁμαρτημάτων συγχώρησιν, νοσημάτων ἀναίρεσιν, κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ μελλούσης εὐκληρίας ἐπιτυχίαν[4] καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν σὴν ἱερὰν πανήγυριν ἐπιτελοῦσι[5] λαμπρῶς,[6] τῷ σῷ δὲ μάλιστα σεμνυνομένοις καὶ ἐγκαλλωπιζομένοις[7] ὀνόματι, μὴ διαλίποις[8] αἰτῶν[9] παρασχεθῆναι παρὰ Θεοῦ τὰ συμφέροντα, πάντων μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγίαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δὲ[10] ζωῆς ἀτελευτήτου ἀπόλαυσιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα[11] δόξα, τιμὴ[12] καὶ[13, 14] κράτος,[15, 16] σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ[17] Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ[18] εἰς τοὺς[19, 20] αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.[21]

[a] Cf. Rom 2:20

BCXO E V

[10] πατέρων: ἀποστόλων *BCXO* || [11] παιδευτὰ – ἀπόρων: προνοητὰ τῶν ἀπόρων, παιδευτὰ τῶν ἀφρόνων *E* || [12] προνοητὰ τῶν ἀπόρων: *om. BCXO* || [13] σῶν: σοῦ *V* || [14] δέχοιο: δέχου *E*

40. [1] ὑπακοὴν: *add.* μᾶλλον *BCX* || [2] μᾶλλον: *om. BCX* || [3] τῆς προθυμίας: τὴν -αν *BCX* || [4] ἐπιτυχίαν: ἐπιτυχεῖν *E* || [5] πανήγυριν ἐπιτελοῦσι: ἐπ. π. *BCX* || [6] λαμπρῶς: *om. BCX* || [7] καὶ ἐγκαλλωπιζομένοις: *om. BCXO* || [8] διαλίποις: διαλίπης *BCX*

foolish, provider of the poor, great champion of the needy, destroyer of the godless and most ardent intercessor for those who seek your refuge, graciously heed the present childish babblings that are offered with much longing from the unskilled mind and tongue, and grant peace, well-being, health and the eternal salvation of the soul for those who exhorted with much faith my humility to this undertaking.

40. *Author requests Saint's blessings*

And to me who prefers obedience to disobedience and who has inadequately recounted your wonders, if you are content with my zeal, grant the aversion of evils, the deliverance from temptations, the remission of sins, the eradication of diseases, the deliverance from dangers and the attainment of future well being. And to all who splendidly celebrate your holy festival, taking pride in your name, don't stop asking that blessings be provided by God, both the abundance of all good things in the present [life], and the enjoyment of eternal life in the future in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom is due all glory and honor and might with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

BCXO E V

[9] αἰτῶν: αἰτούμενος *BCX*, αἰτῶ *E* || [10] δὲ: *post* ἐν *transp. X E* || [11] πρέπει πᾶσα: ἡ *E* || [12] τιμὴ: *om. E* || [13] καὶ: *add.* τὸ *E* || [14] καὶ: *om. V* || [15] κράτος: προσκύνησις *B* || [16] κράτος: *add.* μεγαλωσύνη τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια *V* || [17] ἁγίῳ: ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζῳοποιῷ *V* || [18] σὺν τῷ – καὶ: *om. E* || [19] τοὺς: *om. E* || [20] τοὺς: *add.* ἀτελευτήτους *V* || [21] ἀμήν: *add.* φευρουάρις εἴληφεν ὧδε νῦν τέρμα *X*

COMMENTARY

Title

For Leo of Catania see Introduction **3**.

For similar titles cf. *Vita Spyridonis ep. Trimithuntis* 1 (*BHG* 1647; ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, p. 1): Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Σπυρίδωνος ἐπισκόπου γενομένου πόλεως Τριμιθούντων (and p. 104): Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σπυρίδωνος πόλεως Τριμιθοῦντος...; *Vita Niconis Metanoeite* 1 (*BHG* 1366; ed. D. SULLIVAN, p. 26): Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Νίκωνος τοῦ Μετανοεῖτε...

τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν: The formula is used here in the sense of "defunct, of blessed memory", cf. LAMPE, *s.v.* ἅγιος, C.1.b. It is remarkable that our author never refers to Leo as "Saint". Leo is only termed τῶν ἁγίων συμπολίτης in **4**.21-22. The Athonite manuscripts (BCX and O) use the term ὅσιος for Leo, which in the Middle Ages was an adjective applied to the beatified monks, cf. H. DELEHAYE, *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'Antiquité* [SH 17] (Brussels, 1927), pp. 72-73.

θαυματουργοῦ: In the period between the eighth and the tenth centuries a few Saints are described in the titles of their *Vitae* as θαυματουργοί, such as Ioannicius (in the *Vita* by Sabas), Lucas the Younger of Stiris, Thomais of Lesbos, etc. For miracles in the canonization of an individual in the Early Church see TSAMES, *Ἁγιολογία*, pp. 140-149. That miracles were not considered necessary for canonization is already apparent in John Chrysostom's *Ad Demetrium de compunctione* I 8 (*PG* 47, col. 407.31-33): Καὶ ἐν τοῖς μακαρισμοῖς δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς τὰ θαύματα ποιοῦντας τίθησιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βίον ἔχοντας ὀρθόν.

ἀρχιεπισκόπου: This title (instead of the simple ἐπισκόπου preserved by BC XO) indicates that the see of Catania was an archbishopric. On the level of plain vocabulary, this has no significant consequences: as LAMPE, *s. v.* ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, f., notes: "before A.D. 500 title usu. reserved for Patriarchs, but occasionally used for bishops of metropolitan or other important sees, and later of relatively unimportant sees also...". However, in historical terms the bishop of Catania is listed as an archbishop in *Notitia episcopatuum* 2, which reflects "une évolution datable du VIII[e] siècle" recorded in an archaic *notitia,* the latest within the first quarter of the ninth century, see DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatuum*, p. 19; for the rank of Catania see *Notitia* 2.86, *ibid.*, p. 218, where Catania is listed under the heading Τῶν αὐτοκεφάλων ἀρχιεπισκόπων. Therefore, seen in its historical content the term automatically places Leo in a period after the middle of the eighth century. However, given the laudatory nature of this *Vita* combined with the remark of LAMPE above, this term could have qualified any bishop at any time after the seventh century, no matter how significant his see was.

Chap. 1

1.1. προέδρον: (also **4**.13 and **5**.4), in early Christian sources denotes the leading official in Church. From the fifth century onwards it was used in order to designate pre-eminent bishops, especially Patriarchs, but in later times it was indiscriminately applied to any bishop (LAMPE, *s. v.* πρόεδρος); see also S. SALAVILLE, "Le titre ecclésiastique de πρόεδρος dans les documents byzantins", *EO* 29 (1930), pp. 416-436, and esp. p. 422, where a πρόεδρος Σκαμάνδρου is recorded in a ninth to tenth-century inscription from the same city (in Hellespont). Scamandrus is a bishopric either missing from most *Notitiae episcopatuum* or listed last for the Province of Hellespont in a few *Notitiae* (DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatuum*, 4.153, 9.89 and 13.96: pp. 253, 297 and 355).

1.2. μητροπόλεως: According to LAMPE (*s. v.* μητρόπολις), the word designates 1. the "capital city" or the "chief city" and 2. the "metropolis", "chief see of a province". Within the Byzantine civil administrative hierarchy Catania was always under the jurisdiction of Syracuse. As a bishopric it never had any other sees under its jurisdiction (see DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatuum*, 7.653: p. 286) at least until the Norman conquest of Sicily. Of particular interest, however, is the remark found in the *Notitia* 14 (Σύγγραμμα Νείλου του Δοξαπατρῆ, written in 1142/43 for Roger II of Sicily): μζ′ ἡ Κατάνη ἐπισκοπὴ οὖσα τῆς Συρακούσης, τιμηθεῖσα δὲ μητρόπολις διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Λέοντα (DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae episcopatuum*, 14.51-52: p. 375). In fact, Catania was elevated to *Metropolis* towards the end of the ninth century, but I cannot judge whether the reason was the one stated by Doxapatres above. The first known metropolitan was Euthymius, signatory of the Acts of the 869-870 Synod of Constantinople (see H. ENZENSBERGER, "Die lateinische Kirche und die Bistumsgründungen in Sizilien zu Begin der normannischen Herrschaft" <http://www.medioevoitaliano.org/enzensberger. kirche.pdf> = *Rassegna Storica Online* 2 [2000], p. 25). The way the word is used in this passage can be understood as both an ecclesiastical and a civil administrative term. However, below there is a similar expression (**37**.1-2: τῆς δὲ Συρακουσίων ὁρμωμένη μητροπόλεως) which leaves no doubt concerning its use as a geographic term. If Doxapatres' comment reflects reality, this means that the elevation of Catania to *Metropolis* in the middle of the ninth century should have been the result of a developed cult of St. Leo in Constantinople.

1.2. ἀνατάξασθαι τὰ νῦν προτραπείς: The phrase indicates that this was a commissioned work; see the discussion above in the Introduction 1b.4d, p. 33-34. The presence of the infinitive ἀνατάξασθαι combined with the word διήγησιν two lines below, invokes the introduction to the Gospel of Luke (Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν...). For the *topos* of commissioning, see now PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 26-28, and also above the Introduction 1b.4d, and nn. 95 and 96 for other parallels and bibliography, see also below **39**.16.

1.3. δεῖν εἶναι ᾠήθην: A rather elaborate expression frequently used by classical Greek authors as a second form of δέον εἶναι (see *LSJ s. v.* δεῖ, IV). Ancient orators (Isocrates, Andocides, etc.) and a number of early Church Fathers, such as

Gregory of Nyssa and Eusebius of Caesarea had also employed this expression (see Eusebius Caesar., *Praeparatio evangelica* 5.10.2.1 and 3 [ed. K. MRAS, p. 237] and also *Vita Constantini* 2.3.1.3 [ed. F. WINKELMANN, p. 47]).

1.3-4. περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ... τῷ λόγῳ διαλαβεῖν: One of the regular *topoi* that occur in the beginning of biographies and follows closely the instructions on composing imperial biographies or laudatory writings found in the *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* of Menander rhetor, ed. L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1856), p. 369.18-24: Μετὰ τὰ προοίμια ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἥξεις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ διασκέψῃ κατὰ σαυτόν, πότερον ἔνδοξός ἐστιν ἢ οὔ [καὶ πότερον πατρίδος περιβλέπτου καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἢ οὔ]. κἂν μὲν ἔνδοξος ἡ πατρὶς τυγχάνῃ, προθήσεις τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ γένους ἐρεῖς, οὐκ ἐνδιατρίβων μὲν εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ προχέων ἐνταῦθα πολλοὺς τοὺς λόγους. For translation see D. A. RUSSEL and N. WILSON, *Menander rhetor* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981). See also the remarks of MANGO, *Byzantium*, p. 241. Among the many other *Vitae* that follow the same model see the *Vita Andreae ep. Cretensis* 2 (*BHG* 113; ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, p. 170) by Nicetas Patricius, and the *Vita Nicephori ep. Mileti* 2 (*BHG* 1338; ed. T. WIEGAND, p. 158). For an in-depth study of this and other *topoi* in hagiography see now PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 56ff. It has to be noted that with regards to the *topos* of the earthly homeland of the hero, *VLB* is exceptionally long in discussing a number of geographical and mythological aspects of Catania. The second paradox in *VLB* is the fact that, despite the lavish description of the place, Catania is not the birthplace of Saint Leo, but Ravenna, to which the author devotes only one line (4.23).

1.4. καθ' ἱστορίας τρόπον: See *LSJ*, *s. v.* τρόπος, II. 4, κατὰ τρόπον. The expression could be alternatively translated: "according to historical manner". Cf. Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Job* (5.1-6.29), codex p. 144.13-14 (ed. A. HENRICHS, p. 90): τὴν ἀλή[θει]αν δι' ἱστορίας τ]ρόπου ἀπα[γγελλ]όμενον... Cf. also the *History* of Polybius, 36.17.1.5-6 (ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, vol. 4, p. 457).

1.4. τῷ λόγῳ διαλαβεῖν: Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *In Ecclesiasten (Or.* VIII*)* (ed. P. ALEXANDER, vol. 5, p. 411.9): ὁ δὲ λόγῳ διαλαμβάνειν ἐπιχειρῶν.

1.4-5. ἄχαρις ἡ διήγησις: ἄχαρις is a technical term in Demetrius' *Περὶ ἑρμανείας* and describes one of the "failed" or "unelegant" writing (and speaking) styles as follows: Παράκειται δέ τις καὶ τῷ δεινῷ χαρακτῆρι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, διημαρτημένος καὶ αὐτός, καλεῖται δὲ ἄχαρις. γίνεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐπάν τις αἰσχρὰ καὶ δύσρητα ἀναφανδὸν λέγῃ... (found next to the forceful style is, as one might expect, a certain faulty style, called "the repulsive". This style occurs in the narrative when someone openly mentions things which are sordid and should not be spoken of). For the text see *Demetrii Phalerei qui dicitur de elocutione libellus* 302.1-3 (ed. L. RADERMACHER [Leipzig, Teubner, 1901, repr. Stuttgart, 1967], p. 62).

1.5. οὐδὲ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐκπίπτουσα τάξεως: Lit. "nor would it fall short of its [proper narrative] sequence/arrangement". In general, the προσήκουσα τάξις is the appropriate arrangement of the material in accordance with the principles of

the particular literary genres, cf., for example, the reference in the *Progymnasmata* of Aelius Theon (ed. L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 2, p. 77.26-27).

1.5-6. εἰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὴν γλῶτταν πρῶτον κινήσομεν: Lit. "if I first direct the tongue to these [subjects]". I have adopted the reading κινήσομεν transmitted by EMV, which is used by many Byzantine authors, cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Hom. I de Maccabeis* 3 (*PG* 50, col. 621.39-40): πῶς ἐκίνησε γλῶτταν; However, the alternate expression τὴν γλῶτταν ἀφήσομεν preserved by the majority of mss is also well attested, cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In illud: Sufficit tibi gratia mea* 2 (*BHG* 1501d; *PG* 59, col. 510.6-7): φέρε δὴ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐνταῦθα ἀφήσωμεν... Both expressions are almost synonymous and used in similar contexts (usually introducing invective). I preferred κινήσομεν because there are already a number of kappas in this sentence and this reading enhances their alliteration.

1.7-8. τοῖς εἰδόσι μὲν ἔσται ... μάθησις: Cf. Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *De S. Trinitate* 1 (*PG* 75, col. 1149.20): καὶ τῶν θείων δογμάτων τὴν διδασκαλίαν προθήσομεν, τοῖς τε εἰδόσιν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν εἰς μάθησιν.

1.9. ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια: Cf. Basilius Caesar., *In hexaemeron, Hom.* 2, 5.49-50 (ed. S. GIET, p. 164): οἱ τὰ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια εἰργασμένοι, ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ φωτὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσιν.

1.9-10. Ἔχει δὲ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὕτως: The phrase seems to have been taken word for word from the anonymous *Commentarium in librum Περὶ εὑρέσεως* (ed. C. WALZ, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 7.2, p. 837.17). Interestingly, in that part, the anonymous commentator deals with the figure of alliteration, a figure our author has employed quite often. This detail may allow for the conclusion that our author relied not only on the manuals of the Second Sophistic, but also on their commentaries.

Chap. 2

2.1-15. Ἐν ὁρίοις ... ἐξαφανίζειν: Catania was the birthplace of Saint Athanasius of Methone (ninth century). His *Vita*, written between 900 and 928 by Peter of Argos, includes a passage that is reminiscent of the present one, although it adds a few details and omits others. Cf. *Vita Athanasii ep. Methonae* 3 (*BHG* 196; ed. K. KYRIAKOPOULOS, p. 46): πατρὶς τοίνυν τοῦ νῦν εὐφημουμένου πατρός, πρώτη μὲν καὶ ἀληθὴς ἡ οὐράνιος ... δευτέρα δὲ κἀκείνης τοσοῦτον ἀποδέουσα, ὅσον ἀληθείας σκιαὶ καὶ ἰνδάλματα, Κατάνη μὲν προσεχής, Σικελία πόρρω περίπυστος. Ὧν εἰ βουληθείην νῦν ἐπαινεῖν τὰ ἐξαίρετα, θέσιν καὶ κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, ἀέρων εὐκρασίαν καὶ ὑδάτων τὸ ποτιμώτατον, δένδρων εὐκάρπων τε καὶ ἀκάρπων πλῆθος, ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ φρονήσει καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ λαμψάντων πληθύν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐξάκουστον Ἀγάθην τὴν μάρτυρα ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ γεννηθεῖσαν καὶ τραφεῖσαν καὶ μαρτυρήσασαν διὰ Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτῆς κατακεῖσθαι λείψανον εὐδοκήσασαν, ὃ καὶ ῥύακες πυρὸς τῆς ὑπερκειμένης Αἴτνης ᾐδέσθησαν κατερχόμενοι, τὸ παραδοξώτατον, ὡς πάλαι φόρτον εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόθεον, πατέρας γέροντας ἐπ' ὤμων φερομένους εὐγνωμόνων υἱῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοὐπίσω χωρεῖν

ἐπετάχθησαν, αὐτήν τε τὴν ἐρευγομένην Αἴτνην τὸ πῦρ καὶ καπνὸν παχὺν ἐκπνέουσαν ὕπερθεν καὶ φρικτὸν ὑπηχοῦσαν καὶ λίαν ἐξαίσιον, καίπερ οὐκ ἀθαύμαστον ἐχόντων τὴν ἔρευναν, ἔξω τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῆς προθέσεως δόξομεν φέρεσθαι.

2.1. Πανόρμου: According to ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 63, this geographic mistake is an indisputable indication that our text was "una redazione orientale (i. e. Constantinopolitan?) della *Vita*", since, indeed, the Panormon is today's Palermo and is located one hundred and thirty miles away from Catania. It seems that the *Life* repeats an error or is based on a piece of information provided by one of the early *Martyria* of St. Agatha, who is, in fact, mentioned in the same sentence of our text. The most likely candidate as a source for this sentence is the anonymous Greek Acta of St. Agatha (*BHG* 36), the Latin translation of which is printed in the *AASS*, Feb. t. I (1658), pp. 618F-619A. The Greek text (which in all likelihood dates before the ninth century) reads as follows (*ibid.*, 600C): Βίος τῆς Ἀγάθης παρθένου... Βασιλεύοντος Δεκίου... Καὶ ἡ μεγαλόφρων ἁγία Ἀγάθη, πατρίδος μὲν Κατάνης, ... ὑπάρχουσα... Περὶ ἧς καὶ πρότερον ἔτυχεν ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν Κυντιανός, ... εὑρὼν δὲ πρόφασιν τὸ ἀσεβὲς πρόσταγμα, ὡς Χριστιανὴν αὐτὴν συλλαβεῖν προσέταξε τοῖς δημίοις ἔξω Κατάνης ἐν Πανόρμῳ διατρίβουσαν. It is possible that our author misconstrued the words ἔξω Κατάνης ἐν Πανόρμῳ which in his narrative became ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις Πανόρμου. Certainly, this does not diminish the validity of Acconcia Longo's conclusion. It is only reasonable, nevertheless, to assume that our author was using this source and trace in it his confusion of place names. Finally, it is worth noting, that these confusing indications in some early Greek texts may have been one of the contributing factors that resulted in the establishment of the cult of Saint Agatha in both Catania and Palermo that is still flourishing today. For further arguments of earlier scholars on whether Agatha hailed from Catania or Palermo see *AASS*, Febr. t. I, pp. 605A-615C.

2.3. ἀγαθώνυμος: Lit. "good-named", a pun on St. Agatha's name that is also used in hymnography (see the Canon of Theophanes, Ode, 1 and 6 published in the *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, vol. III, pp. 507ff.).

2.3. παρθενόμαρτυς: The word is not attested by any literary source in the *TLG*, however, it is very common in Byzantine hymnography.

2.3. Ἀγάθη: For Saint Agatha, apart from the *Martyria* collected in the *AASS* (see note above) and the Latin accounts (*BHL* 133-138) see also, H. OHSE, *Das Sankt-Agatha-Fest in Sizilien: der Kult an seinem Ursprungsort Catania; e. Beitr. z. volkstuml. Heiligenverehrung in d. Gegenwart* (München, 1972), and S. D'ARRIGO, *Il martirio di sant'Agata nel quadro storico del suo tempo* (Catania: Istituto catechistico Annunziazione di Maria, 1988). Saint Agatha martyred either under Decius or under Diocletian. She was a beautiful young virgin who was submitted twice to torture and eventually died after she had been thrown on burning coals. One year after her death her relic rescued Catania from the lava that was flowing from Aetna. Her commemoration day is February 5.

2.3-4. τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας διήθλησεν ἀγῶνα: For the concept of martyrdom as an athletic activity see among many, A. GLUCKLICH, *Sacred Pain: Hurting the Body for the Sake of the Soul* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 24-25,

and as a metaphor, also among many, P. ALLEN, B. DEHANDSCHUTTER, et al., *Let Us Die That We May Live: Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria, c. 350-c. 450 AD* (New York, Routledge, 2003), p. 29.

2.5-8. ὅπερ εἰς ἔνδειξιν ... διῳκονομήθη: This seems to be an original comment of the author (cf. the personal verb οἶμαι), informed by the work of John Chrysostom. On the linguistic level the author plays on the sound of epsilon and alpha found in the two names (Aetna/Gehenna). One of the earliest, if not the earliest use of the Aetna as an example of the manifestation of God's wrath and as a harbinger of an impending final judgment is found in the third century *Martyrium Pionii* 4 (*BHG* 1546; ed. L. ROBERT, p. 23): ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε καὶ διηγεῖσθε Λυδίας γῆν Δεκαπόλεως κεκαυμένην πυρὶ καὶ προκειμένην εἰς δεῦρο ὑπόδειγμα ἀσεβῶν, Αἴτνης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ προσέτι Λυκίας ῥοιβδούμενον πῦρ. Concerning the expression "disbelieve in Gehenna/διαπιστεῖν τῇ Γεέννῃ" inspiration may have been derived also from John Chrysostom's *Hom. IV in Matthaeum* 11 (*BHG* 1895e; *PG* 57, col. 53.40-4): Ὥστε εἴ τις διαπιστεῖ τῇ γεέννῃ, ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν κάμινον, ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων πιστευέτω τοῖς μέλλουσι, καὶ μὴ φοβείσθω πενίας κάμινον, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτίας κάμινον (cf. also *ibid.*, col. 198.21 and 417.51). This particular segment of *VLB* seems to be addressing an issue that was of interest to many Christians, that is, the existence of the Gehenna and its place in the grand scheme of the Second Coming. Chrysostom, again, in his *Hom. XXIII in Epist. I ad Corinthios* 2 (*PG* 61, col. 191.59ff.) states that "since the majority of people disbelieve in the statements about Gehenna, because it is not present and cannot be seen, God demonstrates from the events that have already occurred that He punishes those who sin / ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ γεέννης λόγοις οἱ πολλοὶ διαπιστοῦσιν, ἅτε μὴ παρούσης μηδὲ φαινομένης, ἀπὸ τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων δείκνυσιν, ὅτι κολάζει τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ὁ Θεός. Chrysostom also used the example of Sodom and Gomorrah as a proof of the existence of Gehenna, see his, *Hom. VIII in Epist. I ad Thessal.* 3 (*BHG* 2103a,f; *PG* 62, col. 443.11-12): Εἴ τις ἀπιστεῖ τῇ γεέννῃ, τὰ Σόδομα λογιζέσθω, τὰ Γόμορρα ἐννοείτω...). Here the author of *VLB* presents Aetna as an equivalent to Chrysostom's Sodom. Finally, it is interesting to note that Empedocles in his philosophical system associated fire with the underworld and sometimes with Hephaestus, see KINGSLEY, *Ancient Philosophy, passim*, but esp. pp. 71-80 with further bibliography.

2.8-9. ἑλληνικῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ: A rare expression (the earliest appearance in Clemens Alexandrinus the latest in Photius), cf. Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.*, 5.19.12.3-13.1 (ed. J. BIDEZ and G. C. HANSEN, p. 225): Χριστιανὸς ὢν ... ἔγνωκεν Ἑλληνικῆς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἀκολάστων ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον ἐκκαθᾶραι τὸν χῶρον. Note that the positive meaning of the ancient Greek word (see *LSJ, s.v.*, δεισιδαιμονία, "fear of the Gods, religious feeling") is replaced here and in the other Church fathers by the negative one ("superstition" see *LSJ, ibid.*, 2). However, even in ancient times this term indicated the negative feeling of fear that went far beyond normal devotion and religious practices, including "worship of half-forgotten native deities and all sorts of exotic gods" (See LUCK, "Witches and Sorcerers", in ANKARLOO and CLARK, *Witchcraft and Magic*, vol. 2, p. 101).

2.10-15. καὶ γὰρ ἐν βρυγμῷ ... καὶ ἐξαφανίζειν: The whole description of the volcanic activity in this passage seems to be an elaboration on the relevant passages from the Greek *Martyrion* of Saint Agatha and from the Pseudo-Nonnian scholia on Gregory Nazianzus' homilies. Compare the Greek text of *VLB* to: Ἡ Αἴτνη τὸ ὄρος πῦρ κατερρεύσατο, καὶ καθάπερ ποταμὸς ἐρχόμενος πάντα κατέφλεγεν, καὶ κατελθὼν ἔμελλε πᾶσαν τὴν Καταναίων πόλιν κατακαῦσαι (*AASS*, Feb. t. I, p. 602E). See also the version by Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 37; *PG* 114, col. 1345A): Τὸ δὲ ὄρος ἡ Αἴτνη πῦρ ἐξηρεύξατο καὶ καθάπερ ποταμὸς μυκώμενος σφόδρα, οὕτως κατήρχετο διαλύων (sic) τοὺς λίθους ὥσπερ κηρὸν ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους, ὀφείλων [an ἀπειλοῦν?] φλέξαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι πᾶσαν τὴν Καταναίων πόλιν. Another possible source is Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* IV *Contra Julianum imp. I* 85.6-14 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 214; = *PG* 35, col. 613.9-19): ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ Αἰτναῖον πῦρ λόγος τοῖς πυθμέσι τῆς Αἴτνης ἐγκρύπτεσθαι κάτωθεν πλημμυροῦν καὶ βίᾳ κρατούμενον, εἴτε τι ἄλλο τοῦτό ἐστιν, εἴτε ἄσθμα κολαζομένου γίγαντος, τέως μὲν φοβερὸν ὑπηχεῖν καὶ καπνὸν τοῦ κακοῦ μήνυμα τῆς κορυφῆς ἀπερεύγεσθαι, εἰ δέ που πλεονάσαν τύχοι καὶ δυσκάθεκτον γένοιτο, τῶν οἰκείων κόλπων ἀποβρασθέν, ἄνω φερόμενον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κρατῆρας χεόμενον, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης γῆς φθείρειν ἀπίστῳ καὶ φοβερῷ ῥεύματι· οὕτω κἀκεῖνον ἔστιν εὑρεῖν... However, even closer to *VLB* is the commentary on this passage by Pseudo-Nonnus, *Scholia mythologica* 4.46 (ed. J. NIMMO SMITH, p. 113-114): Τεσσαρακοστὴ ἕκτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ κατὰ τὸ *Αἰτναῖον πῦρ*. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη. *Σικελία νῆσός* ἐστι μεγίστη διακειμένη περὶ Ἰταλίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ ἐστὶ πόλις *Κατάνη* οὕτω *καλουμένη*. *ὑπεράνω* δὲ τῆς *Κατάνης* ἐστὶν ὄρος ἐξ οὗ ἀναδίδοται πῦρ πολύ τε καὶ διηνεκές. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ ὄρος Αἴτνη, *καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου κρατῆρες*. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πῦρ *ἔστιν ὅτε* τοσοῦτον *ὑπερβλύζει* ὥστε καὶ ποταμηδὸν φέρεσθαι, καὶ ῥεῖν ὡς ὕδωρ μετὰ τῆς ἀναδιδομένης πυρώδους ὕλης. Noteworthy in this passage is the presence of a number of words found also in Chap. 2 of *VLB* (italicized above). Finally, relevant information is also found in Strabo's *Geographica* 6,2,3.43-70 (ed. A. MEINEKE, vol. 1, pp. 369-370). For the association of Hephaestus to Aetna see now KINGSLEY, *Ancient Philosophy*, p. 77, and n. 25 for further references to primary sources and bibliography.

2.11. ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐν ‹ὑστέρ›οις καιροῖς: The words ἐν οἷς καιροῖς (preserved by EMV) make no sense in the present context and sound redundant after the ἔστιν ὅτε. The best solution seemed to me to be this Biblical expression, which is rather common and is also in accordance with the apocalyptic spirit conveyed by the reference to Gehenna two sentences before. If my emendation is correct, the resulting sentence means that our author refers to eruptions of Aetna that had occurred up to the ninth century. This is also implied by the expression ἔτι καὶ νῦν in l. 2.4. In fact, Aetna is the only volcano on earth, the eruptions of which are so well documented, save for the period between the first and the eleventh century. Volcanologists have tried to establish eruptions by palaeomagnetic dating of numerous lava flows and pyroclastic deposits. This has revealed a considerable quantity of non-documented eruptions that occurred during the early Middle Ages. For bibliography and a detailed list of possible eruptions of Aetna during that period see now the WWW site http://boris.vulcanoetna.com/ETNA_elencold.html

(visited on March 9, 2004). Basic publication on the subject: J.-C. TANGUY, "Les éruptions historiques de l'Etna: chronologie et localisation", in *Bulletin volcanologique* 44 (1981), pp. 585-640.

Chap. 3

In this Chapter, the whole Empedocles incident appears to be based again on the Pseudo-Nonnian scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus. Ps.-Nonnus comments on the following passage from the *Or.* IV *Contra Julianum imp. I* 59.1-9 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 164-166 = *PG* 35, col. 581.25-34): ταῦτα μὲν παιζέτωσαν παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἐμπεδοκλεῖς, καὶ Ἀρισταῖοι, καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμοί τινες, καὶ Τροφώνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων δυστυχῶν ἀριθμός· ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς κρατῆρσιν ἑαυτὸν θεώσας, ὡς ᾤετο, καὶ εἰς τὴν κρείττονα λῆξιν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀναπέμψας, τῷ φιλτάτῳ σανδάλῳ κατεμηνύθη παρὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκβρασθέντι καὶ οὐ θεὸς ἐδείχθη μετ' ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος κενόδοξος καὶ ἀφιλόσοφος μετὰ θάνατον καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ κοινὰ συνετός. Compare, Ps.-Nonnus, *Scholia mythologica* 4.1 (ed. J. NIMMO SMITH, pp. 68-69): Πρώτη ἱστορία αὕτη· Ταῦτα μὲν παιζέτωσαν παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἐμπεδοκλεῖς καὶ Ἀρισταῖοι καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμοι καὶ Τροφώνιοι. Ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς οὗτος Σικελιώτης ἦν τὸ γένος, Πυθαγόρειος τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. βουλόμενος δὲ κενοδοξῆσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἀνιερώθη καὶ μετάρσιος γέγονεν εἰς οὐρανούς, ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀναδιδομένῳ πυρὶ τῆς Αἴτνης. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πῦρ λέγεται οἱ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου κρατῆρες. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, ὁ δὲ θεὸς βουληθεὶς δημοσιεῦσαι αὐτοῦ τὴν κενοδοξίαν τὸ σάνδαλον αὐτοῦ ἀποπτυσθῆναι σῶον ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐποίησεν. καὶ οὕτως ἐγνώσθη ὅτι μετάρσιος μὲν οὐ γέγονε, κατεκάη δὲ ἀξίως τῆς οἰκείας κενοδοξίας (for an English translation, see J. NIMMO SMITH, *A Christian's Guide to Greek Culture: The Pseudo-nonnus Commentaries on Sermons 4, 5, 39 and 43 by Gregory of Nazianzus* [Translated Texts for Historians] [Liverpool, 2001], pp. 2-3). The same story appears in Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae Philosophorum* 8.69.4-9 (ed. H. S. LONG, vol. 2, p. 425) and Strabo, *Geographica* 6.2.8 (ed. A. MEINEKE, vol. 1, pp. 376-377). The fact that our author is drawing upon the Pseudo-Nonnian passage is further corroborated a) by the presence of the underlined words in the previous extracts, of which *VLB* seems to be an eloquent elaboration and b) by the fact that a detail concerning Empedocles, namely that his sandal was made of bronze and this is why it was preserved, is missing from *VLB* as it is missing from Ps.-Nonnus. However this detail is preserved by the other two sources I have cited (Strabo and Diogenes Laertius). There is no doubt that in the mind of our author Empedocles was an archetypal magician. For more on the character of Empedocles and in particular on the connection of the story of his death and the bronze sandal with magic rites associated with Pythagoreanism, see KINGSLEY, *Ancient Philosophy*, pp. 233-316.

3.2. δειναῖς ἐξαπάταις δαιμονίων ἐξηνδραποδισμένον: Note the alliteration of delta. Δαιμονίων seems to be a variation introduced by the author in an already rare expression. Certainly, the subtle difference here helps the mind of the erudite audience to make an easy connection between the ancient Greek δαιμόνια (term

indirectly pointing to Empedocles) and the δαίμονες of the author's times. See also Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Interpretatio in Ep. I ad Cor. S. Pauli* 12.1 (*PG* 82, col. 320.27-29): τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐξαπάτῃ δεδουλευκότας...

3.3. ἀποθεωθῆναι θελήσαντα: For the expectation of Empedocles to achieve divine status after his death (based, however, on texts other than those transmitting this legend) see S. TREPANIER, *Empedocles: An Interpretation* (New York, Routledge, 2003), pp. 74, and 119-123.

3.3. δόξης ἰσοθέου: This expression is attested in a sense similar to the one employed in *VLB* only by the second century AD astrological anthology of Vettius Valens (ed. W. KROLL, *Vettii Valentis anthologiarum libri* [Berlin, Weidmann, 1908, repr. 1973], p. 173.22-24): καὶ εἰς ἀθάνατον χῶρον εἰσερχομένους ἐπί τινας χρόνους καὶ θεῶν χορείας καὶ μυστήρια κατοπτεύσαντας ἰσόθεον δόξαν ἐπαναιρουμένους. Didymus Caecus in the spurious *De Trinitate III* 10 (*PG* 39, col. 857.9) employs the same words to denote the consubstantiality of the holy Trinity (τὰ ἐπουράνια ... εἰδότα τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τὴν ἰσόθεον δόξαν). However, there is more behind this expression: in one of his anti-Christian writings the emperor Julian († 363) leveled the accusation that the Christians are eager to suffer (martyrdom, etc.) out of desire for glory and not for truth. In his response, Gregory of Nazianzus, denied this accusation and proffered the cases of the pagan Empedocles, Aristaeus and Empedotimus, who, in fact, did suffer and died for the sake of glory, see Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* IV *Contra Julianum imp. I* 59.1-4 (ed. J. BERNARDI, pp. 164-6 = *PG* 35, 581.24-28): Δεύτερον δέ, εἰ δόξης ἐπιθυμίᾳ κινδυνεύειν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑπέλαβε ταῦτα μὲν παιζέτωσαν παρ' ἐκείνοις Ἐμπεδοκλεῖς, καὶ Ἀρισταῖοι, καὶ Ἐμπεδότιμοί τινες, καὶ Τροφώνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων δυστυχῶν ἀριθμός...

3.5-6. τοῖς ... δῆθεν θεοῖς: An uncommon expression occurring only in the *Scholia vetera in Aelium Aristidem*, and in the *Anacephalaeosis* attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 1, p. 165.6): καὶ τὸ κωλύειν θύεσθαι τοῖς δῆθεν θεοῖς Πυθαγόρας ἐδογμάτισεν.

3.7-10. The Greek original here employs extensive alliteration of phi, pi, and rho, (... κενοῦ φιλοσόφου μάταιον σόφισμα ... τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ματαιόφρονος γνώμης εἰσπράττεται ... τῷ παμφάγῳ πυρί ... πρὸς πῦρ παραπεμφθείς...).

3.7. μάταιον σόφισμα: Apart from *VLB*, this expression occurs in the *De incarnatione contra Apollinarium libri II* I.13 and 19, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (*PG* 26, col. 1116.31 and 1125.35: Μάταιον οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ σόφισμα...), in the *Thesaurus de Sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate* of Cyril of Alexandria (*PG* 75, col. 377.52) and in *Declamatio* 47, 1.48.12 of Libanius (ed. R. FOERSTER, *Libanii opera*, vol. 7 [Leipzig, Teubner, 1913 repr. Hildesheim, Olms, 1997], p. 602).

3.8-9. τῷ παμφάγῳ πυρί: Cf. the poem *de Aetna Monte* preserved in the Palatine anthology, see E. COUGNY (ed.), *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina...*, vol. 3 (Paris, Didot, 1890) epigr. 218.1-4, p. 327. This epigram shares a few words with our text and echoes a few more. However, despite the fact that it is also appended to some manuscripts that preserve the *Scholia vetera* on the Prometheus Bound (see C. J. HERINGTON, *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound* [Leiden, Brill,

1972], pp. 241-242), its date is unknown to me. Both the Palatine anthology and the Scholia are later, but they have incorporated much earlier material. Therefore, I cannot decide on its priority over *VLB* or vice versa; I have underlined words that are related to Chapters **2** and **3** of *VLB*.

Στίχοι εἰς τὸ Αἰτναῖον πῦρ.

Αἴτνη τίς ἐστιν Ἰταλῶν ὄρος μέγας, // ἐξ ἧς καταρρεῖ παμφάγου πυρὸς νᾶμα // μέχρι πολίχνης Κατάνης λεγομένης, // ῥοιβδεῖ δὲ δεινῶς, ὡς ποταμὸς ἐκρέων·
Compare also the above passage with the Pseudo-Nonnian commentary on Aetna cited above.

3.9-10. πῦρ ... ἀτελεύτητον: Cf. the *Passio S. Artemii* 63 (*BHG* 170; *PG* 96, col. 1309.41-43) attributed to John of Damascus, αὐτὸς παραδοθήσῃ τῷ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἀτελευτήτῳ πυρί...

3.10-11. The Greek original abounds in alliteration of rho and pi: ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξεβράσθη παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἀπερρίφη, πρὸς ἔλεγχον...

3.12-13. The Greek phrase displays extensive alliteration of delta and sigma: τοῦ διακενῆς ψευδώνυμον ἰσοθεῖαν νοσήσαντος καὶ δυστυχῶς ἀδοξήσαντος. The alliteration continues, in fact, in the next line (see next comment at the end).

3.13-14. ἐκ γῆς ... γιγάντων: For the birth of giants from Gaia (or Ge) see Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.6.1 (ed. J. G. FRAZER, vol. 1, p. 42). Note the alliteration of delta and sigma in the Greek text (... διδόντες ἄδειαν ... ἀναδεδόσθαι γένος ... ἔδοξαν).

3.15-19. γίγαντά τινα ... ἀναβρασμὸν βίαιον: Ps.-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.6.3 (ed. J. G. FRAZER, vol. 1, pp. 46-50) continues after the defeat of the giants with the myth of Typhon (son of Gaia/Ge and Tartarus), who tried to overthrow Zeus but failed. Eventually, Zeus suppressed him by throwing mount Aetna on him. That version, however, slightly differs from the one presented here, in that Ps.-Apollodorus attributes the fire that is emitted by the volcano to the thunderbolts Zeus threw against Typhon. Another version, different from the present one, is preserved by Antoninus Liberalis (1st century AD) in his *Metamorphoseon synagoge* 28.4.2-4 (ed. I. CAZZANIGA, p. 47). In it, Hephaestus has placed his anvils on Typhon's neck and is guarding him. Typhon, in fact, is the Typhoeus of Hesiod (*Theogony*, ed. M. L. WEST, l. 823-35), but the association of the Aetnian eruptions with his roar occurs in later authors such as Eustathius of Thessalonike, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (ed. M. VAN DER VALK, vol. 1, p. 243.15-19), and in the Latin pseudo-Virgilian poem *Aetna*. In this poem, as in the poetry of Callimachus, it is the giant Enceladus who is buried under Aetna. See *OCD s. v.* Aetna (1) and Typhon.

Chap. 4

4.1-2. μῦθοι κακοδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ δαιμόνων δεινῶν ἀναπλάσματα καὶ μαθήματα: This is how the restored Greek text here reads. It seems that the whole phrase and the subsequent lines originate from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Or.* XXXIX *In sancta lumina* 3.3-5 (*BHG* 1938; ed. J. MORESCHINI, pp. 152-153 = *PG* 36, col. 336.43-337.1): μή τι τοιοῦτο μυσταγωγοῦσιν Ἕλληνες; ὧν λῆρος ἐμοὶ πᾶσα τελετὴ καὶ μυστήριον, δαιμόνων εὕρημα σκοτεινόν, καὶ διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα κακοδαίμονος, χρόνῳ βοηθούμενον καὶ μύθῳ κλεπτόμενον, combined with a passage from Sextus Empiricus' *Adversus mathematicos* 8.354.5 (ed. H. MUTSCHMANN and J. MAU, p. 183: ... ἢ κενοπαθήματά ἐστι καὶ ἀναπλάσματα τῆς διανοίας...). Despite the fact that κενοπαθήματα is a *hapax* in the whole *TLG* it may be a plausible emendation. Another possibility could be the emendation of μαθήματα to μυθεύματα, but it would contravene the author's practice to avoid tautologies. Note that the words ἀνδρῶν κακοδαιμόνων and μύστης καὶ μυσταγωγός, do also occur in the same paragraph of Gregory of Nazianzus' work cited above. However, our text, being late, may represent a slightly altered and abridged form of what Gregory of Nazianzus wrote. The intermediate stages of the development of this phrase are also evident in other pieces of Byzantine hymnography or homiletics as is evidenced, for example, by the lower script's first two lines of fol. 3^{v} of the palimpsest St. Petersburg, RNB Gr. 82 (see TCHERNETSKA, "Membra disiecta", p. 124: μύθος πάντως καὶ ψευδὲς ἀνθρώπων ἀνάπλασμα.).

4.4. <ἄλλως> ὑπ' ἄλλων: The text seems to be disturbed here. I emended the "ὑπ' ἀλλήλων" that is transmitted by all manuscripts, to ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων which seems to be a better solution. The disadvantage of ἄλλων being the *lectio facilior* is offset by the fact that paleographically the similarity of the two words can easily lead a scribe to drop one of them.

4.6. μυσταγωγοῖς καὶ μύσταις: Cf. Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 1.20.3.4-5 (ed. J. BIDEZ and G. C. HANSEN, p. 41): τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστημόνων οἷα δὴ μύσταις καὶ μυσταγωγοῖς μόνοις δέον τάδε λέγειν. These two terms are originally derived from the ancient Eleusinian Mysteries in Athens. For a description of the original content of these terms see now K. CLINTON, "Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries" in M. COSMOPOULOS (ed.), *Greek Mysteries* (London, Routledge, 2003), pp. 50-78.

4.8. περὶ οὗ: In order to translate these words we have inserted the phrase "an example ... man". That περὶ οὗ refers to the ἄνθρωπος who is created in the likeness of God and renewed in Christ.

4.9-10. ἀρχέτυπον εὐσεβείας: Cf. Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Interpretatio in Danielem* III, v. 97 (*PG* 81, col. 1345.28-30): γενέσθωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ μακάριοι οὗτοι παῖδες ὠφελείας παράδειγμα, εὐσεβείας ἀρχέτυπον...

4.10. ἀληθείας στήλην: The context suggests that the word στήλην be translated simply as "monument" although "image of" is also another possible meaning. Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *De s. hieromart. Babyla* 2 (*BHG* 207; *PG* 50, col. 530.52-

55): Ποῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ ἀπόφασις; Ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῶν πραγμάτων λάμπει τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ στήλης χρυσῆς τῆς τῶν ἔργων ἐκβάσεως ἀπαστράπτουσα.

4.12-22. Λέοντος τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ... συμπολίτης: From this point onwards, the author qualifies Leo with a succession of small clusters of descriptive adjectives that appear in numerous other hagiographies and patristic texts. In the sequel I cite the most significant sources I was able to trace. In general this list of virtues is a rather extensive elaboration on the four cardinal virtues. On the origin and formation of such catalogues of virtues see R. GRÉGOIRE, *Manuale di agiografia. Introduzione alla letteratura agiografica* [Bibliotheca Montisfani XII] (Fabriano, 1996^2), pp. 80-103, see also PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 205-212.

4.14-15. θεοφόρος τῷ ὄντι ποιμήν: Cf. Joannes Damascenus, *Dialectica sive Capita philosophica* (recensio fusior) proem.55-57 (ed. B. KOTTER, p. 52): θεοδιδάκτων ἁλιέων καὶ θεοφόρων ποιμένων τε καὶ διδασκάλων λόγοις κεκαλλωπισμένην ... ἀλήθειαν ... ἐκθήσομαι...

4.15. τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαμπτήρ: The first to contrive this expression seems to have been Gregory of Nazianzus, see his *Or.* XLIII *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* 25.19-22 (*BHG* 245; ed. J. BERNARDI, pp. 182-184 = *PG* 36, 532A): ἡ ...τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία ... λαμπτῆρα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προτίθησι περιφανῆ...

4.16. τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόκιμος διαιτητής: Note the alliteration of delta; cf. Nicetas David Paphlagon, *Vita Ignatii patr. CP* 10 (*BHG* 817; *PG* 105, col. 503D-504A): τοῦ δικαίου διαιτηταῖς.

4.18. τῶν ἀποστόλων μιμητής: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In annuntiationem Deiparae* [sp.] (*BHG* 1144h; *PG* 62, col. 764.74-5): τὸν μιμητὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων...

4.19-20. ὁ τῶν πενήτων προνοητὴς καὶ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐκδικητής...: For this expression see below (6.1-20) the *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum*. For τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐκδικητής, cf. Act 7.24.1-2; and also Joannes Damascenus, *Sacra parallela* (*CPG* 8056.2, *PG* 95, col. 1565.1-3): ΤΙΤΛ. ΚΘ'. Περὶ ἐκδικήσεως Θεοῦ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις γενομένης· ὅτι χρὴ τῷ Θεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τῆς ἐκδικήσεως.

4.20. ὁ τῶν ποικίλων χαρισμάτων ταμίας: Cf. Cyrillus Alex. *Commentarius in Isaiam proph.* V, 4, v. 8 (*PG* 70, col. 1288.50-51): ὁ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ταμίας Θεός, ὁ πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων δοτήρ...

4.20-21. μεγίστων τεραστίων ἐργάτης: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In s. Stephanum protom.* 1 (*BHG* 1658; PG 59, col. 501.55-56): τραπεζῶν ἐτάγη διάκονος καὶ τεραστίων ἀνεδείχθη ἐργάτης...

4.21. τῆς ἐπουρανίου πόλεως πολίτης: Cf. Didymus Caecus, *In Genesim* XIV, 12 (ed. P. NAUTIN and L. DOUTRELEAU, p. 246.13): οὕτως ἔσται πολίτης τῆς ἐπουρανίου πόλεως...; Cyrillus Scyth., *Vita Sabae* (*BHG* 1608; ed. E. SCHWARTZ, p. 86.27): οὗτος τῆς ἐπουρανίου μητροπόλεως γεγονὼς πολίτης Σάβας.

4.22-24. οὗτος τὸ μὲν σωματικὸν ... εὐγενέστερος: This is all that the *Vita* offers concerning the early stages of Leo's life, see also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 10. Note also the alliteration of gamma and the etymological figure: ... κατάγων γινώσκεται, εὐγενῶν γονέων γόνος ἐκφὺς εὐγενέστερος, cf. Joannes

Chrysost., *De Joseph et de castitate* (*BHG* 2201; *PG* 56, col. 588.52-53): εὐγενῶν γὰρ γονέων εἰμὶ ἀπόγονος.

4.24-28. τὸ δὲ πνευματικόν, καὶ ὃ πάντες ... ὁμοιότητα: A rather intricate sentence, that, together with the previous one, presents a variation on the basic hagiographic motif: The common and real homeland of the Saints is the Heavenly Jerusalem, while their earthly one is their particular place of birth. Compare, for example, the introductory passage of the *Vita Nicetae Mediciensis* 4 (*BHG* 1341; *AASS*, Apr. t. I, Appendix, p. xxii e): πατρὶς δὲ ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ μήτηρ Παύλου καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐκείνῳ ... εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς κάτω τις ἐφίεται μαθεῖν τὴν προσηγορίαν, Καισάρεια τοῦτον ἐξεφύη τῆς Βιθυνίας... See also PRATSCH *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 57-58.

4.25-26. ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν συγγενείας: It is rarely attested both in the patristic writings and in hagiography. See Basilius Caesar., *Homilia in illud: Attende tibi ipsi* (ed. S. Y. RUDBERG, p. 36.10-12). In hagiography it occurs in the *Vita Euthymii Iun.* 1 (*BHG* 655; ed. L. PETIT, p. 168): δυσὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν συγγενείας ἐρωτικῶς διακειμένους...

4.26. διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναγεννήσεως: The original concept behind this expression can be traced to the Gospel of John (3:5). The reference here is to the Christian baptism. Cf. Gregorius Nyss., *De perfectione Christiana* (ed. W. JAEGER, vol. 8.1, p. 202.6-11), see also the relevant article E. FERGUSON, "Exhortation to Baptism in the Cappadocians" in E. A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.), *Studia Patristica* XXIII (Leuven, Peeters, 1997), pp. 121-129 and esp. 127.

4.26-28. κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου ... ἀνόθευτον ἔσχε ... ἀγγελικὴν ... ὁμοιότητα: For the comparison/identification of ascetic-monastic life to the "angelic life", see, among many, T. K. SEIM, "Children of the Resurrection: Perspectives on Angelic Asceticism in Luke-Acts" in L. E. VAAGE – V. L. WIMBUSH, *Asceticism and the New Testament* (London, Routledge, 1999), pp. 115-126, and esp. 115 n. 2 for further bibliography; and, also, PEERS, *Subtle Bodies*, pp. 68, and 147-152. Although it is not clearly stated whether Leo was a lay person or a monk at the time of his appointment, the above passage suggests, at least, the idea that he was living a chaste life, possibly as a monk. St. Demetrianus, whose *Vita* follows *VLB* in a number of instances, became a monk early in his life, see *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum* 4 (*BHG* 495; ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, p. 224).

4.29-30. καὶ βίου περιδόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν: See also next comment under B. This same expression is used in the *Vita Demetriani* 7 (ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, p. 227): καὶ καταμαθὼν πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βίου τούτου [sc. of Demetrianus] ἀκρίβειαν...

4.28-31. ὃς δι' ὑπερβαλλούσης ἀρετῆς τελείαν ἀκρότητα καὶ βίου περιδόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν, δι' ὧν τὸ πρακτικὸν εἶδος τῷ θεωρητικῷ θαυμασίως οἶδε συμπλέκεσθαι (note the alliteration of rho). Reference to the theoretical and practical parts (although here the author does not further specify [i.e. of the soul, of the mind or of a human *in toto*]) goes back to ancient Greek philosophical writings and one cannot help but also notice words such as ἀρετῆς ἀκρότης and βίου ἀκρί-

βεια, or θεωρητικὸν and πρακτικὸν εἶδος and their relationship (συμπλέκεσθαι). A word for word analysis of this passage is warranted here:

A) δι' ὑπερβαλούσης ἀρετῆς τελείαν ἀκρότητα. Virtue is considered by Aristotle both an extreme and a mean between two extremes (ἀκρότης and μεσότης), see, Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, I (ed. I. BYWATER, 1107a.6-8); also Aspasius, *In ethica Nicomachea commentaria* (ed. G. HEYLBUT, p. 49.10-13). These distinctions, however, were lost to the Christian rhetoric, which insisted on the superior nature of all virtues. See John Chrysostom, *Hom. XLIII in Acta apostolorum* 2 (*PG* 60, col. 305.48-49): Τοῦτο οἰκονομία λέγεται τὸ εἰς ἀκρότητα εἶναι καὶ ὕψους ἀρετῆς καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης συγκαταβάσεως. Also Pseudo-Macarius (*Epistula magna*, ed. W. JAEGER, p. 276.8-12) is more detailed in registering this shift of Christian understanding of virtue: Ὁ γὰρ ὁλοτελῶς ἑαυτὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιερῶν πάντοτε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἰδίας δυνάμεως σπουδὴν καὶ τὸν πόνον ἐν μηδενὶ ἐλλείπων, παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν λύτρωσιν τῶν παθῶν διὰ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῆς χάριτος ἐκδεχόμενος, εἰς *αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρότητα ἀρετῆς* καὶ καθαρότητος καταντῆσαι καταξιοῦται.

B) καὶ βίου περιδόξου θαυμασίαν ἀκρίβειαν. This concept is not found in ancient Greek philosophers, but many fourth and fifth century Church Fathers, such as John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius of Alexandria et al. employ the terms in order to denote the daily conduct of a virtuous Christian who strictly observes the rules of Christian decency. See among others, Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* 23.1.1 (ed. M. AUBINEAU, p. 520 = *PG* 46, 405B): Ὅτι χρὴ τὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ βίου τούτου μαθεῖν βουλόμενον παρὰ τοῦ κατορθώσαντος διδάσκεσθαι.

C) δι' ὧν τὸ πρακτικὸν εἶδος τῷ θεωρητικῷ θαυμασίως οἶδε συμπλέκεσθαι. It is most likely that the word that is implied here after εἶδος is διάνοια. And this concept is in fact expounded in Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* (ed. BYWATER, 1139a.4ff. combined with 1145a.1-11, 1177a.14-1177b.27 and 1178a.9ff.), where Aristotle speaks about πρακτικαὶ and θεωρητικαὶ ἀρεταί. All these passages are too long to even summarize and concerning the πρακτικὴ and θεωρητικὴ διάνοια at least, we also have numerous later commentaries, the most concise and clear of which are those of the twelfth-century commentator Eustratius of Thessalonike, *In Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea VI commentaria* (ed. G. HEYLBUT, pp. 287.21-24, and 381.20-33). As for the last expression concerning the "perfect combination" of the practical to the theoretical mind, I may cite a modern authority on Aristotle: see J. OWENS, *The Doctrine of Being in Aristotelian Metaphysics, A Study in the Greek Background of Medieval Thought* (Toronto, 1963^2), p. 168: "To bring the practical order under the theoretical is not an Aristotelian problem, for the practical was never seen by the Stagirite apart from or outside the speculative". I wish to thank Prof. Chris Long for his suggestions on this particular passage.

4.31-32. τῆς ἐκκλησίας λογάδων: The meaning of these words is clearly explained in a later gloss by Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* (ed. J. J. REISKE, p. 754.20-21): καὶ δεῖ ἡμᾶς καλεῖν τοὺς λογάδας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἷον μητροπολίτας σὺν τῷ συγκέλλῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιβ'... If this meaning is also present here, it is implied that in the process of selection and appoint-

ment of Leo to his first lay position, were also involved other bishops (perhaps that of Syracuse) and clerics.

4.32-33. τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ... φροντίδα ... ἀναδέξασθαι: This is another small piece of information concerning Leo before his election to the Episcopal throne of Catania. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 10 "... si può presumere che si trattasse dei beni della chiesa di Ravenna esistenti in Sicilia". Interestingly enough, St. Demetrianus of Chytri was also first appointed an οἰκονόμος (manager) by Eustathius, bishop of Chytri (see ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, p. 227), see also next note.

4.34-37. πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος ... οἰκονόμος ... σιτομέτριον: cf. Luc 12:42: τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος ὁ φρόνιμος, ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος ... τοῦ διδόναι ... τὸ σιτομέτριον; This biblical allusion to the distribution of wheat may also be related to the fact that for a period, even during the seventh century Sicily in general was a source of supplies for both Rome and Ravenna, see MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 104 and n. 89 with a reference to the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (O. HOLDER-EGGER [ed.], p. 350), in which it is also made apparent that the bishop of Ravenna was trying to manipulate the succession of the *rector* of the church of Ravenna in Sicily. The similarity between the Greek text of *VLB*: ἄξιος [sc. Leo] ἐκρίθη τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν φροντίδα καὶ διοίκησιν ἀναδέξασθαι and the Agnellus text describing the office of the *rector* of Ravenna in Sicily (or the duties of the person that was to succeed the *rector*, the text is a little unclear here) is remarkable: "Igitur misit ad rectorem suum Siciliae nomine Benedictum diaconum, qui igitur in tempore regebat curam de causis hac rebus Ravennensis ecclesiae". For more on the function of *curator* of the patrimonies see also NOBLE, *The Republic of St. Peter* pp. 244-246, where there is a recapitulation of earlier scholarship. See also *ODB*, "Oikonomos", p. 1517, and for the Constantinopolitan Church, J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les ὀφφίκια de l'Église byzantine* [Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 11] (Paris, 1970), pp. 35-39 and 303-309. Finally, see the description of the duties of *oikonomos*, *ibid.* p. 548 (ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἔχων, Notice G) and p. 553 (ὁ μέγας οἰκονόμος κατέχων κατ' ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν <πάντα τὰ ἐκκλη>σιαστικὰ πράγματά τε καὶ κτήματα..., Notice I).

4.35. τούς τε λόγους αὐτοῦ οἰκονομεῖν ἐν κρίσει: The office that Leo presumably held serving the Church of Ravenna is referred to twice (see previous two comments) in both cases as part of a Biblical quotation. The text is vague, but if Leo were an *oikonomos*, this did not necessarily mean that he was an ordained priest by that time (although he might have been a monk). For the office of *oikonomos* see I. PELILES, *Τίτλοι, Ὀφφίκια καὶ Ἀξιώματα ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Αὐτοκρατορίᾳ καὶ τῇ Χριστιανικῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ* (Athens, 1985), p. 55, where it is stated that the *oikonomos* was not necessarily a priest.

Chap. 5

5.1-3. διὰ πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν βαθμῶν ἐννόμως καὶ κανονικῶς ... ἐπαναχθείς: This peculiar sentence implies that Leo was raised to the office of bishop in a hasty manner, albeit in accordance with the original canonical practice. The *Vita* rather obscures things here and all that we are told is the following: Leo was appointed the administrator of the affairs of the Church of Ravenna in Sicily (presumably *oikonomos* or *rector*?). This appointment did not necessarily imply that Leo was a priest (see previous comment). This also means that our text should be read literally. In other words, chances are that after the death of Sabinus, Leo was raised from layperson to bishop in a very short period. This is how the expression διὰ πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν βαθμῶν can be understood. However, this is an elevation to the office of the bishop *per saltum*, which, although practiced by the early Church and by the Byzantines (Tarasius, Nicephorus and Photius were elevated to the Patriarchal throne in this way), was condemned by the Church of Rome in the 8th century (cf. the complaints of Pope Hadrian I for the appointment of Tarasius in his synodal letter of the year 775, MANSI XII, 1071-72 that were omitted in the Greek translation) and later by Photius himself. In the 9th century, it became an issue in the controversy between Photius and Pope Nicholas I. (For a thorough discussion of the issue and bibliography, see EFTHYMIADIS, *Vita Tarasii*, pp. 13-14). The expression ἐννόμως καὶ κανονικῶς occurs in Theophanes Continuatus' *Chronographia* V, 44 (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 276.16-18) in the description of the reinstatement of Photius to the Patriarchal throne after the death of Ignatius.

5.2-3. κατὰ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν τύπον καὶ τὴν τῶν πατέρων παράδοσιν: The process through which one was elevated to the Episcopal throne was formed right after the apostolic era. In the early times "the actual choice of the candidate rested with the whole congregation, clergy and people together, an idealistic system which assumed unanimity but in practice led to faction" (H. CHADWICK, *The Early Church* [The Penguin History of the Church 1] [London, Penguin Books, 1990], p. 50). Since later, after the advent of a Christian Emperor, bishops where usually imperially nominated, the allusion of our text to early practices is valid. For an earlier historical appointment similar to that of Leo, the elevation of Ambrose of Milan, see C. PASINI, "La Vita premetafrastica di Sant'Ambrosio di Milano, Introduzione, edizione critica e traduzione", *AB* 101.1-2 (1983), pp. 123-24 (the text itself was composed between the fifth and the beginning of the ninth century, *ibid.*, p. 111). For more on bishops and further bibliography, see *ODB*, "Bishop", pp. 291-292.

5.5. Σαβῖνον: Nothing is known about this Sabinus for whom the *Life of Leo* is the only source. See ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 10. CAIETANUS, *Vitae Siculorum*, 3 dedicates a small entry to this bishop drawing all his information from *LL* and from the *Breviarium Gallicanum* (fol. 308v) which — differing from our text — states that Sabinus simply left Catania. This information, however, concurs with the entry in the Menologion of Emperor Basil: Ὁ μακάριος Σαβῖνος διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν καὶ κατάστασιν ἐγένετο πρότερον ἐπίσκοπος, εἶτα

τοὺς θορύβους τοῦ κόσμου ἀπολιπὼν διὰ τὸ τῆς ἡσυχίας καλὸν ἐμάκρυνε φυγαδεύων ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις... cited by LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. XIV, n. 2. See also *PmbZ* no. 6470. Although rather widespread in Italy in the early Middle Ages (see *Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini*, *BHG* 707; ed. A. BERGER, p. 369), Sabinus is not a common name in hagiography especially after the eighth century and it is worth noting that one of the contenders for the Episcopal seat in Agrigento in the earlier *Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini* (*ibid.*, p. 190) bears the same name.

5.6-7. τὸ πλήρωμα τῆσδε τῆς ἐκκλησίας: A rather common expression found in most of the early Church Fathers, cf. Joannes Chrysost., *De paenitentia* II, 1 (*PG* 60, col. 700.9-11). It can be assumed that the word τῆσδε here indicates spatial distance between Catania and the author of *VLB* (see also LATYŠEV, *Neizdannye grečeskie*, p. XI).

5.8-9. μεμεριμνημένως: Not found in the *LSJ*, occurs only twice in the whole *TLG* corpus: in the *Ὀνομαστικὸν* 6.140.6 of Julius Pollux (ed. E. BETHE, vol. 2. p. 38), and also in the later *Capita Theologica* 1.82.15 of Symeon the New Theologian (ed. J. DARROUZÈS, p. 90). For the author's knowledge of the *Ὀνομαστικὸν* see above pp. 42-43.

5.12-13. θεία ... ροπή: Cf. the anonymous *Progymnasmata* (ed. C. WALZ, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 1 [Stuttgart, 1832, repr. Osnabrück, 1968], p. 627.25-26): θείας δὲ ῥοπῆς μηδόλως δεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀριστεύειν... and also Joannes Chrysost., *Hom. I de precatione* [sp.] (*PG* 50, col. 776.42-44): Ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς θείας ῥοπῆς οὐκ ἄν τι τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἔλθοι ψυχάς... Cf. also the *Vita Nicephori I patr.* 66 (*BHG* 1335; ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 196.21).

Chap. 6

6.1-20. The entire Chapter displays in parts remarkable resemblance to a passage from the *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum* 8 (*BHG* 435; ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, p. 231.480-495): Ὁ δὲ μακαρίτης Δημητριανὸς ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἐπειλημμένος τοὺς οἴακας, πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιμαντικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεδείξατο. ... πᾶσαν ἀρετῆς καλοκἀγαθίαν ἐν αὐτῇ κατεφύτευσε. ... τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀριστεύματα ... κατώρθωσε. λέγω δὴ τὴν τῶν πενήτων ἐπιμέλειαν, τὴν τῶν χηρῶν προστασίαν, τὴν τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἀντίληψιν, τὴν τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐκδίκησιν, τὴν τῶν ξένων δεξίωσιν, τὴν τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἐπίσκεψιν, τὴν τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ συμπάθειαν, τὴν τῶν γυμνῶν ἀμφίασιν, τὴν τῶν πεινώντων τροφήν, τὴν τῶν διψώντων ἀνάψυξιν, τὴν τῶν μαχομένων εἰρήνην· τοῖς πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς ἦν ἰδεῖν τοῦτον προνοούμενον ὡς πατέρα καὶ πᾶσι πάντα γινόμενον ἵνα πάντας κερδήσῃ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἀπόστολον. Given the precedence of *VLB* we can assume that the *Life of Demetrianus*, written before 915 (see GRÉGOIRE, *ibid.*, p. 214), utilizes our text. In fact, both *Lives* share more common elements apart from this passage, one of them being the acquaintance of the authors with the rudiments of philosophy in addition to a few more passages such as the one cited above. Alternatively, I may suggest that both seem to draw on a common tradition of words and concepts that were handy

through school manuals and especially the Ὀνομαστικὸν of Julius Pollux. For the concepts and the vocabulary used here cf. Ὀνομαστικὸν 4.7.1-4.15.9 and esp. 4.10.6-4.12.6 (ed. E. BETHE, vol. 1, pp. 204-206, and 205-206). For more, see the appropriate part of the Introduction. Finally, other hagiographic texts that display similar lists of deeds are a) the third version of the *Passio* of the *Martyres XLII Amorienses* 9 (*BHG* 1213; ed. V. VASIL'EVSKIJ and P. NIKITIN, p. 28) written by Michael the Monk and Syncellus, and b) the *Vita Germani I patr.* 5 (*BHG* 697; ed. L. LAMZA, p. 206).

6.1-2. τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὁλκάδος: A common metaphor for the institution of the Church, which is, nevertheless, expressed with rare words. The exact citation occurs only in the *Historia Romana* of Nicephorus Gregoras (ed. L. SCHOPEN and I. BEKKER, vol. 1, p. 468). In hagiography it is also used sparingly and is applied to various domains (the ship of one's soul, a monastic community, the lay life, etc.). In the *Vita Stephani Sabaitae* 54 (*BHG* 1670; *AASS*, Iul. t. III [1723], p. 552F), we have the same image as here.

6.3. ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς βαλβῖδος: A proverbial expression that appears in various forms (ἐκ πρώτης βαλβῖδος, ἀπ' αὐτῆς βαλβ., ἀπὸ βαλβ., etc.). See the *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* (eds. E.-L. V. LEUTSCH and F. G. SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum,* vol. 1 [Hildesheim, 1965], p. 33). The formulation found in *VLB* does also occur in the *Correspondence* of Ignatius the Deacon 17.42, 62.15 (ed. C. MANGO, pp. 58 and 150 [ἐξ αὐτῆς βαλβῖδος]).

6.3-4. τὸ τῆς ποιμαντικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπιστημονικώτατον: The phrase combines two simpler concepts: the pastoral experience and the idea that this practice is some kind of acquired wisdom (science). The *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum* displays a variation on this phrase in the passage cited above (6.1-20). For the component parts of this phrase cf. *Vita Nicephori I patr.* 22 (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 156.2-4): ἔχων οὖν ... Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν πρὸς ποιμαντικὴν ἐπιστήμην συνέριθον, and also cf. the *Vita Nicolai Studitae* 29 (*BHG* 1365; *PG* 100, col. 920B): θαυμαστὴ δέ ... καὶ ἡ ποιμαντικὴ τῶν λογικῶν ἐμπειρία.

6.5. καλοκἀγαθίας: According to the spurious *Definitiones* of Plato it is an ἕξις προαιρετικὴ τῶν βελτίστων (ed. J. BURNET, 412e8). The same καλοκἀγαθία is the virtue that is attributed to the Pythagoreans (one of whom was Empedocles) especially with regard to the management of the affairs of city-states: see Iamblichus' *De vita Pythagorica* 35,249.10-12 (ed. U. KLEIN, p. 134). Furthermore, for Aristotle's understanding of καλοκἀγαθία, see A. KENNY, *Aristotle on the Perfect Life* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 20-22 and esp. 22: " ... *kalokagathia* is a synthesis of the virtues of the parts of the soul...". Our author, therefore, endows Leo with some of the positive qualities cherished by the pagans of the old times.

6.5-8. ἐπαγρυπνῶν ... ἀποκρούεσθαι: Cf. the *Vita Nicetae Mediciensis* 13 (*AASS*, Apr. t. I, Appendix, p. XXIV E): πᾶσαν τὴν ποίμνην μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἐφύλασσον, ἀγρυπνοῦντες ὑπὲρ ταύτης καὶ τοὺς νοητοὺς θῆρας τοῦ συλᾶν ... ὡς ἄριστοι ποιμένες τοῦ ἀρχιποιμένος Χριστοῦ.

6.6-7. τῶν φανερῶς πολεμεῖν ἑλομένων καὶ τῶν ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν μελετώντων: Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* XL, *In sanctum baptisma* 16.9-10 (*BHG* 1947; ed. J. MORESCHINI, p. 230 = *PG* 36, 377.42-44).

6.9. πᾶσι τρόποις θεαρέστων ἔργων καὶ λόγων κατὰ τὰ λόγια: Despite the formula "in accordance with the scripture" that follows, the entire sentence is not a direct Biblical quotation. The closest expression I found is Prov 21:3 (Ποιεῖν δίκαια καὶ ἀληθεύειν, ἀρεστὰ παρὰ Θεῷ μᾶλλον), but it is still far from our Greek text, for which cf. Joannes Damascenus *Oratio de his qui in fide dormierunt* 22 (*BHG* 2103t; *PG* 95, col. 268.40-41): ὡς ἂν δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ θεαρέστων ἐπικουρήσωσί μοι...

6.12-13. Ἑλλήνων: It can mean both "Greeks" and/or "pagans", see also below the comment in **36**.8-9.

6.13-14. αἱρέσεων δὲ τὸ τῆς βεβήλου κενοφωνίας: Cf. the *Vita Theodori Edesseni* 114 (*BHG* 1744; ed. I. POMJALOVSKIJ, p. 118): καὶ μὴ τῶν αἱρετικῶν παρατρέπεσθαι βεβήλοις κενοφωνίαις.

6.15. δίκην φωστῆρος ... ζωῆς: The phrase is also employed by the author of the *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum* 1 (ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, p. 219).

6.16. ψυχῶν ἐπιμελούμενος: Cf. Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* 4.13.5.1 (ed. I. A. HEIKEL, p. 172): σωμάτων δ' οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ψυχῶν ἐπιμελόμενος.

Chap. 7

7.1. πλάνης ὑπασπιστῶν: A similar use of the word ὑπασπιστὴς can be found in the *Vita Tarasii* 8.7 and 55.10-11 (*BHG* 1698; ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, pp. 77 and 145): τῶν τῆς αἱρέσεως ὑπασπιστῶν... // ... τὸ τοῦ Σατᾶν καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ... ὑπασπιστῶν.

7.2-3. τὸ κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας κράτος: I have been unable to find any other source for this phrase. Theodoretus of Cyrus uses the same words without the "κατά" to express the opposite meaning, cf. Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Explanatio in Canticum canticorum* VI (*PG* 81, col. 193.8-10): τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας τὸ κράτος καταλύσας, αὐτὸς ἐγκρατὴς γενήσεται τῶν αἰχμαλώτων...

7.3-6. τὸ διὰ προσευχῆς ... ἐνιδρυθέν: Rather common miracle in early hagiographies and *martyria.* Similar miracles:
— In the seventh-century *Passio* of Tatiana 5 (*BHG* 1699; ed. F. HALKIN, pp. 273-274), the Saint prays to God and causes a strong earthquake that demolishes the statue and one fourth of a pagan temple (for the date see *Passio Tatianae* ed. F. HALKIN, p. 267).
— St. Lucia, the widow who died also in the vicinity of Catania a short time after the death of Diocletian, is reported in her *Passio* 7 (*BHG* 2241; ed. F. HALKIN, p. 22) not only to demolish with her prayer a statue of Zeus but also his temple.
— S. Basiliscus performed the same miracle on a statue and a temple of Apollo in his *Passio* 6 (*BHG* 241; ed. F. HALKIN, p. 69).

– St. Spyridon of Trimithous, destroyed a pagan idol in a similar fashion, see *Vita Spyridonis ep. Trimith.* 20 (ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, p. 85ff.).
– Finally, in the *Laudatio Mocii* 10 (*BHG* 1298h; ed. H. DELEHAYE, p. 182) written by Michael Syncellus, the Saint destroys an idol of Dionysus in the same way.

7.4-5. εἰδωλικὸν κίβδηλον: This word combination is problematic in that it is very difficult to accept two consecutive adjectives without a noun, which they qualify. However, we can still keep κίβδηλον as a neuter substantive meaning something like "idol made of cheap alloy" or translate it in a metaphoric sense such as the one we have adopted here. I have been able to find two instances, where κίβδηλον seems to designate a statue of Apollo. The first is in the *Passio* of Tatiana. Note, however, that the word occurs in a passage, which is rather corrupt; see *Passio Tatianae*, 4 (ed. F. HALKIN, p. 274): "... ῥῆξαι τὸν ἀκίνητον ... ἀδριάντα, τὸν ... τὴν ἀπώλειαν παρεχόμενον τοῖς αὐτῷ πιστεύουσιν καὶ δεῖξον ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν κίβδηλον πεφυτευμένον ἐν τῇ διεξόδῳ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων· ξόανον γάρ ἐστιν... The second is clearer and occurs in the *Passio Basilisci* 6 (ed. F. HALKIN, p. 70): κιβδήλοις καὶ ἀψύχοις οὐ θύω.

Another possible emendation could be δείκηλον, which is not transmitted by any manuscript, but is similar in sound to κίβδηλον. Δείκηλον also forms an almost perfect anagram of the word εἰδωλικόν (only the ω has no corresponding letter in δείκηλον). The reading of the Athonite mss (ἐκτύπωμα) is semantically even more remote and looks like a gloss. Both τύπωμα and δείκηλον are listed by Pollux (*Ὀνομαστικόν* 1.7: ed. E. BETHE, vol. 1, p. 2) as synonyms for "idols" or "statues" (although Pollux advises against the use of δείκηλον). It is also worth noting that the *VLW* text that is closely following *VLB* in this passage uses the word εἴδωλον, while in the *Synaxary of Constantinople* entry (*Synax. CP*, p. 479) we have the words εἰδωλικὸν ἄγαλμα. Δείκηλον also appears in the works of early Christian fathers, such as Theodoretus of Cyrus and Eusebius of Caesarea. Compared to other words occurring in this text (such as μεμεριμνημένως above in Chap. 5.8-9), δείκηλον is a relatively common one.

7.5. τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ τροπαιοφόρον σημεῖον: The word τροπαιοφόρον appears a few times in the Canons of the Feast of the Holy Cross (Sep. 14). In the 8th-10th century hagiography it is only found in the *Vita Euthymii patriarchae* 5 (*BHG* 651; ed. P. KARLIN-HAYTER, p. 33): καὶ τοῦ τροπαιοφόρου σημείου προάγοντος... The ultimate reference is to the famous vision of Constantine the Great at the Mulvian Bridge, for which see L. BRUBAKER, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 164-167.

7.6-8. ὅπερ ... ἀναστηλωθὲν ὕπερθεν πολυκύκλου στοᾶς ἑλληνικῆς ὑπὸ ... Δεκίου ... θεοποιούμενον: Nothing is known for this monument that was purportedly erected by Emperor Decius (249-251 AD). For the πολύκυκλος στοὰ ἑλληνική, on which it was erected, see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 38, for bibliography and some suggestions concerning the nature of the monument and its possible location in Catania: "Tra gli antichi ... edifici circolari o semicircolari ancora riconscibili nella città, oltre all'anfiteatro, al teatro e al odeo ... dove negli scavi archeologici sono state trovate delle statue, emerge quello che è chiamato il Pantheon di

Catania, cioè la chiesa di S. Maria della Rotonda... Un complesso termale, con ambienti circolari e portici, si adatterebbe sia alla descrizione della nostra *Vita*, sia a quella corrispondente della *Vita BHG* 981b (= *VLB*)."

As for the word πολυκύκλου, which we translated as "multi-apsed", it has to be stressed that it is a very rare one and it occurs only twice in the *Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae* lines 400 and 531 by Paul Silentiary (ed. O. VEH, *Prokop. Werke*, vol. 5 *[Die Bauten]* [Munich, Heimeran, 1977], pp. 326 and 334). Mango translates it as: "of many curves" (C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* [Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1986], p. 82).

7.8-10. ... τοῦ θεσπεσίου ... θεοῦ θεράποντος ... θείαις προνοίαις ἀφιερωθέντος τοῦ τόπου πρὸς θεοῦ κατοικητήριον: Extensive alliteration of theta.

7.10-11. μαρτύριον ... τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μεγάλων ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ: To the best of my knowledge, this reference to a *martyrion* of the Holy Forty Martyrs [of Sebasteia] hasn't been verified to the day by any archeological findings. The commemoration day of these Saints is March 9. Hymnography and hagiography frequently refer to them as athletes and Leo was not the only Saint to dedicate a church to these martyrs: S. Athanasius of Athos built a small church for them, see the *Vita B Athanasii Athonitae* 25 (*BHG* 188; ed. J. NORET, p. 151). The cult of these Saints was widespread, see P. FRANCHI DE'CAVALLIERI, "I santi quaranta martiri di Sebastia", in P. FRANCHI DE'CAVALLIERI, *Note agiographiche* [ST 49] (Roma, 1928), pp. 155-184; see also *ODB*, "Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia", pp. 799-800, and Ch. WALTER, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* [Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003], pp. 170-177).

7.11/13-14. μεγάλων ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ / μεγάλῃ Χριστοῦ παρθενομάρτυρι: for the adjective μεγάλος (great) applied to Saints (starting with St. Anthony) see the comments in FOLLIERI, *Fantino*, pp. 482-83, with more references to other *Vitae*.

7.12-13. παρὰ τῆς ἐκείνου φιλοπόνου σπουδῆς καὶ προμηθείας: Perhaps, this expression is proverbial. However, I have only been able to find a later expression similar to this one. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Romana* (ed. L. SCHOPEN and I. BEKKER, vol. 1, p. 320): ἄξιοι παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ γίγνοιντο προμηθείας ἕνεκα καὶ σπουδῆς.

7.14. Λουκίᾳ: This Saint is the virgin-martyr (παρθενόμαρτυς in the Greek text, see above 2.3) of Syracuse who died in Catania, where she went to venerate the relic of St. Agatha during the persecution of Diocletian (c. 304). For a modern biography and detailed bibliography see http://digilander.iol.it/santigeremiaelucia/storiasantalucia.htm (accessed in January 10, 2007). Given the circumstances of her martyrdom, it only seems reasonable that a church was dedicated to her in Catania, however, no such edifice is listed by A. HOLM in his *Catania Antica* (Catania, 1925). St. Lucia's commemoration day is December 13. For her cult see esp. V. MILAZZO – F. RIZZO NERVO, "Lucia tra Sicilia, Roma e Bizanzio" in PRICOCO, *Storia della Sicilia*, pp. 95-154. The Italian scholars have not taken into account the information provided by *VLB*.

7.14-15. ναὸς ... περίβλεπτος: In existing literature περίβλεπτος usually qualifies a personal name or nouns such as "family/γένος" or even city names. In descriptions of churches this is extremely rare, cf. *Vita Theophano* 25 (*BHG* 1794; ed. E. KURTZ, p. 17.23): ἐκ τοῦ περιβλέπτου ναοῦ τῶν τιμίων Ἀποστόλων.

7.17-18. τῆς θεοειδεστάτης ψυχῆς: The phrase echoes a formulation found in Plato's *Phaedo* stating the divine nature of the soul (Plato, *Phaedo*, ed. J. BURNET, 95c.5: ἰσχυρόν τί ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ θεοειδές). The same idea also persists among Neoplatonists, such as Iamblichus (see *Protrepticus*, ed. H. PISTELLI, p. 117.2-5). Nevertheless, Christian writers also subscribed to this formulation, as the writings of the Cappadocian and other fathers attest: cf. the spurious *Sermo de contubernalibus* attributed to Basil of Caesarea (*PG* 30, col. 817.25), and also Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus* 10 (ed. B. R. SUCHLA, p. 156.17). The expression in superlative (θεοειδεστάτη ψυχή) is found in the hagiographical writings of Psellus (*In salvationem Deiparae* [*BHG* 1082m], ed. E. A. FISHER, pp. 103, l. 133: μόνη γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ θεοειδεστάτη ψυχὴ ... ἐπέλαμπε).

7.19. μυρίπνοον ἔλαιον: The fragrant (lit. myrrh-scented) oil that is referred to here is a rather common occurrence in hagiography. For miraculous oil flowing from the tomb of a Saint, the tomb of St. Demetrius in Thessalonike and that of St. Theodora of Thessalonike provide the most famous examples: see A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium* (Washington DC, 1996), p. 216, n. 271; Theophylactus Simocatta (*Historiae* 1.11.7.1-2, ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 59-60) offers a late sixth-century reference to the myrrh flowing from the relic of St. Glyceria; for the myrrh from the tomb of St. Demetrius and St. Theodora of Thessalonike, see A.-M. TALBOT, "Family Cults in Byzantium: The Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike", in ROSENQVIST, *ΛΕΙΜΩΝ*, pp. 46-69. The relics or the coffins of many other Saints issued *myron* as well, see, for example, the *Vita Demetriani ep. Chytrorum* 14 (ed. H. GREGOIRE, p. 236 — incidentally, a passage to be compared with the passage in *VLB* 7.17-21): τὸ δὲ τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον κατετέθη ἐν τῇ ἐμπιστευθείσῃ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶται καθ' ἑκάστην μύρων ἀναβλύζων πηγάς, ἐξ ὧν ἅπας [sic cod.] νόσος τοῖς πίστει τούτων μετέχουσιν ἀπελαύνεται, δαίμονες δραπετεύουσιν καὶ πάντων τῶν παθῶν ἀλεξητήριον φάρμακον πίνονται [sic]). Further bibliography: G. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1913-1917), p. 516; A. J. FESTUGIERE, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, vol. 2 [SH 48] (Brussels, 1970), p. 237; W. SMITH and S. CHEETHAM, *DCA* (London, 1908), 2, 1454, *s.v.* "Oil, Holy: Oil of Saints"; F. CABROL and H. LECLERCQ (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1934) *s.v.* "huile" and "eau" 1777-1791 and 1680-1690; Ch. HÜNEMÖRDER's entry "Balsam", in *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, vol. II (1997), p. 428, and, finally, W. DEONNA, "Euodia. Croyances antiques et modernes: l'odeur suave des dieux et des élus", in *Bulletin du Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* 17 (1939), pp. 167-263.

7.19-20. ἀποτρόπαιον μὲν παντοίων κακῶν: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In adorationem venerandae crucis* [sp.] (*BHG* 415; *PG* 62, col. 749.12-13): σταυρέ, τῶν ψυχῶν ἡ σωτηρία, καὶ σωμάτων πάντων κακῶν ἀποτρόπαιον.

7.20. παθῶν παντοδαπῶν, and also 36.10. παθῶν ἑσμός and 39.2. δουλικῶν παθῶν: The word is used in *VLB* to indicate both the corporal illnesses and spiritual afflictions. For more on the various meanings of this word see Th. ŠPIDLÍK, *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*, vol. 1 [OCA 206] (Rome, 1978), pp. 257-260.

7.25. δίκην ἡλιοειδῶν ἀκτίνων: a powerful simile combined with a metaphor that shows excellent grasp of the poetic expression. Only the late (13th-14th cent.) poet Manuel Philes employs the same imagery in one of his poems, *Carmina* Chap. 2, poem 213, lines 362-364 (ed. E. MILLER, vol. 1, p. 404): Κόμην ἐκείνην τὴν χρυσῆν, τὴν ὀλβίαν // Ἣν ἡ φύσις ἔδειξεν ὡς φῶς αἰθρίας, // Ἡλιοειδῶν εὐπο-ροῦσαν ἀκτίνων.

7.25-26. τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως προσπελάζουσιν: I adopted the reading προσπε-λάζουσιν of OEMV instead of the αὐτῷ προσιοῦσιν of BCX as an uncommon one. Although there are many other authors that have employed the alternative wording (προσιοῦσιν), cf. Joannes Chrysost. *Hom. 2 in Psalmum 50* [sp.] (*PG* 55, col. 585. 17: καὶ σωτηρία τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως προσιοῦσι χορηγουμένη), I opted for προσπε-λάζουσιν because this is also the word used by Joseph the Hymnographer in his Canon for Leo of Catania (3rd Ode, ἁγιάζεις πίστει σοι τοὺς προσπελάζοντας, see also above the Introduction [1b.3a, p. 21ff.] for a discussion of these parallels).

It should be mentioned that a passage from the *Alexias* of Anna Comnene bears remarkable resemblance to the last part of this Chapter. The *Alexias* text describes the tomb of St. Demetrius. I cite here the relevant lines: *Alexias* 2.8.3.14-18 (ed. B. LEIB, vol. 1, p. 89): ... δοθῆναι δέ οἱ καὶ τὴν Θετταλοῦ μεγίστην πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου περικαλλὴς ναὸς ᾠκοδό-μηται, ὅπου καὶ τὸ μύρον ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τιμίας σοροῦ βλύζον ἀεὶ μεγίστας ἰάσεις τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως προσιοῦσι παρέχει.

Chap. **8**

8.1-2. τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ... παρρησίας: Cf., 1 Joh 3:21 (παρρησίαν ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν..., which is translated in the KJV as *confidence toward God*). Still παρρη-σία remains a word difficult to translate. For meaning and bibliography see *ODB*, "Parrhesia", p. 1591, and also LAMPE, *s.v.* Among the more common of its meanings one can also cite "speaking out", but it is hardly appropriate in the present context; another possible translation is "intimacy with God". The bibliography is rich: see E. PETERSON, "Zur Bedeutungsgechichte von παρρησία", *Festschrift Reinhold Seeberg* 1 (1929), pp. 283-97; G. J. M. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur Parrêsia dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne", *Graecitas et Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva* Suppl. 3 (Nijmegen, 1970), pp. 5ff., 155ff. For the same term in 9th-century ecclesiastical politics see P. HATLIE, "The Politics of Salvation: Theodore of Studios on Martyrdom (Martyrion) and Speaking Out (Parrhesia)", in *DOP* 50 (1996), pp. 263-287. It is one of the most common expressions in the descriptions of Saints and their relationship to God (πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησία) see among many the *Passio Andreae in Crisi* 17 (*BHG* 111; *AASS*, Oct. t. VIII [1853], p. 142D), the *Vita*

Theodori ascetae in Cythera insula 2 and 21 (*BHG* 2430; ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, pp. 282, 290), and the *Vita Nicephori I patr.* 48 (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 217).

8.2. φανερὰ καὶ κατάδηλα πᾶσι: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Hom. XVI in Joannem* 1 (*PG* 59, col. 102.42-43): ὥστε πᾶσιν ... κατάδηλον τὴν κακουργίαν γενέσθαι καὶ φανεράν...

8.4-6. τοῦ λόγου ... παριστᾶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν: Cf. *Vita Ioannis Psichaitae* 1 (*BHG* 896; ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, p. 104): ... ἐναργῆ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων παραστήσω τοῖς φιλοθέοις.

8.9. ἀποστολικῆς χάριτος: The meaning usually assigned to this expression is related to the evangelizing activity of the Apostles, which is hardly relevant to the meaning found in *VLB*. However, closer to *VLB* is Theodorete of Cyrus who uses this expression to denote the ability ro perform (healing) miracles by the power of one's words see Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Historia ecclesiastica* (ed. L. PARMENTIER – F. SCHEIDWEILER, p. 238.3-4): ἀποστολικῆς γὰρ χάριτος ἀνάπλεως ὢν λόγῳ τὰς νόσους ἐξήλαυνεν. Cf. also below **35**.7 and **36**.11-12.

8.9. ἐναργέστατον γνώρισμα: Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (*BHG* 715; ed. G. HEIL, p. 40 = *PG* 46, col. 940A): ὑψηλῆς διανοίας ἐναργέστατον ἐγίνετο γνώρισμα.

8.10. ἀναλαβὼν ἄνωθεν ... διηγήσομαι: See *LSJ s.v.* ἄνωθεν and also Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 12.52.4 (ed. G. KAIBEL, vol. 3, p. 183).

Chap. **9**

9.1. ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος: The phrase suggests distance between the narrator's time and the events he relates.

9.2. ἀνεπιλήπτου βιοτῆς: Cf. *Vita Nicephori I patr.* 88 (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 217.2): τῆς σῆς ἀλήπτου βιοτῆς ... τὰ γνωρίσματα.

9.2. τέρας τι δαιμόνιον: The Athonite manuscripts and O transmit φάσμα instead of τέρας and both expressions do occur in earlier authors. However, τέρας δαιμόνιον is an extremely rare expression. It first occurs in the *Antigone* of Sophocles (ed. A. DAIN and P. MAZON, v. 376), in a passage where the chorus, astounded by the fact that Antigone seems to have disobeyed Creon's decree, consider the event a "portent of gods", see SIR R. WEBB, *Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments, with Critical Notes, Comm. and Transl. into English prose,* Part III: *The Antigone* (Cambridge, 1900), l. 376. Similar meaning is found in the *De bello Judaico* 1.331.2-4 of Flavius Josephus (ed. B. NIESE, p. 76). The use of the expression is maintained in the Christian period, and in hagiography it means "miracle" or "wonder", see the *Vita Sabae Iunioris* 2 (*BHG* 1611; ed. I. COZZA-LUZI, p. 7): κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ ὁσίου συλλήψεως παράδοξόν τι τέρας καὶ τῆς μελλούσης περιλάμπει αὐτὸν χάριτος θείας. Besides these, τέρας also has the meaning of "monster" or "evil portent" and is used here as such. The problem is that I haven't been able to find the expression δαιμόνιον τέρας in the sense it

occurs in *VLB*, in any other author. One author, however, employs both τέρας and φάσμα in a single sentence in a way that may be of some help: see Eusebius Caesar., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.8.5.2-5 (ed. G. BARDY, vol. 1, p. 113). In this particular passage a τέρας is a φάσμα that defies belief. This is the reason why I have chosen τέρας for my text over φάσμα. In the few cases I found of φάσμα δαιμόνιον, the meaning was clear and was always a demonic apparition as in the *Chronicon* of Georgius Monachus (ed. C. DE BOOR, pp. 616.20-617.2). Heliodorus was much more than a mere apparition and much of what he did defied belief. For further discussion of τέρας and φάσμα / φάντασμα δαιμόνιον, which occurs two more times in our text in Chapters **21** and **29**, and more examples from hagiography, see below **21**.7-8 and **29**.12-13.

9.3. ἐπαοιδίας καὶ μαγγανείας: The first term designates the various special forms of words pronounced by the sorcerer in order to attract demons (spells). Μαγγανεία, is used by our author interchangeably with γοητεία and ἐπαοιδία. It is not related etymologically to the word μάγος, and is considered the most general term in Greek for the procedures pursued by magicians. For both terms see, DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 16-17, and GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 28-29 (for ἐπαοιδή - ἐπῳδή).

9.4. Ἰαννῆν ἢ Ἰαμβρῆν ... ἢ Σίμωνα ... μάγον: Iannes was one of the Egyptian magicians that contended with Moses (cf. Ex 7:11 and 2 Ti 3:8). This comparison of any heretic or magician with Iannes (or also with Iambres) is very common in hagiography. The *Chronography* of Bar-Hebraeus transmits the information that Emperor Leo IV (775-780 AD) sent to the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi a *Book of Iannes and Iambres* containing all the secrets of Egyptian magic, see, S. GERO, "Jannes and Jambres in the Vita Stephani Iunioris (*BHG* 1666)", *AB* 113 (1995), pp. 281-292, and esp. 285. In ninth- and tenth-century Iconophile hagiography and in later historiography John VII the Grammarian (the Patriarch of Constantinople 838-843) is designated as a second Iannes, see the *Vita Ignatii patr. CP* 9 (*PG* 105, col. 500C), and the *Vita Macarii Pelecetae* 11 (*BHG* 1003; ed. J. VAN DEN GHEYN, p. 154). Finally, in the *Acta Petri et Pauli* 55 (*BHG* 1490; ed. R. A. LIPSIUS, pp. 202-203), the Apostle Paul compares Simon to Iannes and Iambros.

On the various, Jewish, Christian and pagan traditions about these two magicians and their later appearances in literature see A. PIETERSMA, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* [Religions of the Greco-Roman World 119] (Leiden – New York, Brill, 1994), pp. 3-71.

For Simon Magus, see Act 8:9, 13, 18, 24, and also below **11**.11, and **13**.15. Finally, see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 18-19.

9.5. Ἡλιόδωρον: For Heliodorus see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 13-29 and 29-36 (on the possible relationship of a few stories of Heliodorus with some medieval narratives about the Latin poet Virgil). Acconcia Longo's association of Heliodorus with the well-known Heliodorus of Emesa (the author of *Ethiopica*) is extremely tenuous and has already been criticized by KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 252-53. However, Kazhdan found another observation of Acconcia Longo "more productive", namely that "the so-called *Patria of Constantinople* ... ascribe the building of the bronze Anemodoulion, a weather vane of

sorts, to a "godless Heliodorus", who lived in the reign of Leo 'born in Syria,' i.e. Leo III" (*ibid.*, same page). Even to this identification one can only concede that the Heliodorus of the Anemodoulion "reminds one of our magician". As is evident from *VLB*, Heliodorus is to be associated with other personalities of the pagan past, but not so much with the ones that Acconcia Longo suggests. See also the discussion in the *Prolegomena* 4 and also *PmbZ* no. 2551. In Pratsch's treatment of the hagiographical *topoi*, Heliodorus is listed as a typical adversary (Gegenspieler), see PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 172-173.

9.5-6. ἐνέργειαν καὶ κακουργίαν ... τοῦ Σατανᾶ: The expression *activity of Satan* has its roots in the New Testament (2 Th 2:9). The choice of words here seems to have been deliberate on the part of the author of *VLB*, because the whole of Chapter 2 of this Pauline letter refers to the Antichrist (or the "man of lawlessness" as is in the text) and how Christ will subdue him. For further exegesis of the same passage cf. Joannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei* 99.31-35 (ed. B. KOTTER, p. 233): Οὐκ αὐτὸς τοίνυν ὁ διάβολος γίνεται ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν — μὴ γένοιτο —, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ἐκ πορνείας τίκτεται καὶ ὑποδέχεται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ. Προειδὼς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἄτοπον τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως παραχωρεῖ ἐνοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν διάβολον. For the second half of the phrase (κακουργία Σατανᾶ) cf. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarius in Isaiam proph. Or.* III (*PG* 70, col. 113.43-44). For modern exegesis and the relationship of this Biblical passage to eschatology see L. MORRIS, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids MI, 1959), pp. 213-232, esp. pp. 231-232.

9.6-7. υἱὸς μὲν ἐγεγόνει γυναικός τινος ... Βαρβάρας: For the custom of many sources to present the victims of magical operations and sometimes the magicians themselves only with their mother's name see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 127-28 and also W. M. BRASHEAR, "The Greek Magical Papyri: an Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994)", in *ANRW*, Teil II: Principat, 18:5 (Berlin – New York, W. De Gruyter, 1995), p. 3394 and n. 23 for further bibliography. See also Introduction 4b. For this Barbara *patrikia* see *PmbZ* no. 744.

9.7. τῇ τῆς πατρικιότητος ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένης: A high Byzantine dignity. In fact, the *zoste patrikia* was the only dignity meant for Byzantine women. See *ODB*, "Zoste Patrikia", p. 2231, with further bibliography. According to OIKONOMIDES, *Listes*, p. 293, this dignity is attested only between the 9[th] and 11[th] centuries, see also R. GUILLAND, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Amsterdam, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 132-169. For the expression τῇ τῆς πατρικιότητος ἀξίᾳ cf. also the *Vita Tarasii* 45.3-5 (ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, p. 128).

9.8-9. Χριστιανῆς δὲ ταύτης τυγχανούσης, χριστιανικῶς τῷ δοκεῖν ἀνήγετο καὶ αὐτός: This seems to be the conscious tribute of our author to the founder of the hagiographic genre, St. Athanasius of Alexandria. The above sentence is a deliberate variation on the first lines that introduce St. Anthony in the eponymous *Life*, see *Vita Antonii* 1.1.2-3 (*BHG* 140; ed. G. J. M. BARTELINK, p. 130 = *PG* 26, col. 840. 12-841.2): Ἀντώνιος γένος μὲν ἦν Αἰγύπτιος, εὐγενῶν δὲ γονέων καὶ περιουσίαν αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων, καὶ Χριστιανῶν αὐτῶν ὄντων, Χριστιανικῶς ἀνή-

γετο καὶ αὐτός. However the careful change of ὄντων to τυγχανούσης (implying – at worst – that Barbara was a Christian by accident) and the insertion of τῷ δοκεῖν by the author of *VLB* transforms this sentence into a piece of ironic invective.

9.10. ἀλαζονικὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος: Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16.15 (ed. J. BRIGHT, p. 272 = *PG* 67, col. 712C).

9.10-11. τόν τε τρόπον ἀνήμερον: Severian of Gabala (*De tribus pueris, PG* 56, col. 594.50-53) applies the same characterization to Nabuchadnezar; the same words qualify the Iconoclast Emperor Constantine V in Theophanes' *Chronographia* (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 442.17): θηριώδης τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἀνήμερος ἦν.

9.11. τὸ φρόνημα ... ὑπερήφανον: Cf. Joannes Damascenus, *Orationes de imaginibus tres* 3.33.49-51 (ed. B. KOTTER, p. 138).

9.13. τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος ... μεγέθους: The city-prefect (ἔπαρχος or ὕπαρχος) was charged with controlling the city (Constantinople) and keeping the peace. His duties also included control of prices, weights, and measures. The term can also designate the prefect of other cities, such as Thessalonike. There is no doubt that it was one of the highest offices, and John Lydus in his *De magistratibus populi Romani* already in the sixth century gives many details about this office and its Roman origins. The description in the *VLB* is vaguely reminiscent of that of John Lydus, compare τοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος περιδόξου μεγέθους ... to Joannes Lydus *De magistratibus* (ed. A.-C. BANDY, p. 90): Περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχότητος τῶν Πραιτωρίων. Τὸ μὲν περίβλεπτον τῆς ἀρχῆς... See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 41-42, for a brief discussion on the issue that "la presenza di un prefetto a Catania in questo periodo non e anacronistica" and on the prefect's authority and duties, see also *ibid.*, same page and notes 43, 45-47, for bibliography. The most comprehensive study for the eparch is by GUILLAND, "L'éparque".

9.13-14. ἐν περιλήψει γενέσθαι: The *TLG* brought up only one reference: Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia* 101.7 (ed. J. H. DECLERCK, p. 77).

9.14. διὰ πολλῆς ἐτίθετο τῆς σπουδῆς: The earlier forms of this expression are slightly simpler (πολλὴν σπουδὴν τιθέναι), cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, 6.7.48 (ed. J. BRIGHT, p. 260 = *PG* 67, col. 685AB): καὶ πολλὴν σπουδὴν περὶ χρημάτων κτῆσιν τιθέμενον... Similar to the *VLB* formulation is the following one from the Third Ecumenical Council, *ACO* 1.1.6. p. 88.3: σοὶ σκοπὸς καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τέθειται πολλῆς δύο δὴ πάλιν ἀποφῆναι Χριστούς...

9.14. ἐμφύτῳ πονηρίᾳ: Cf. Dinarchus (orator, 4th c. BC), *In Philoclem* 18.7-8 (ed. N. C. CONOMIS, p. 70): οὐδ' ἀπεκρύψατο τὴν ἔμφυτον πονηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνεῖλε πᾶσαν τὴν γεγενημένην αὐτῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πίστιν...

9.15. τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας δυναστείαν: Cf. Greg. Naz., *Liturgia s. Gregorii* [sp.] (*PG* 36, col. 709.41-42): τῆς σῆς ἐξουσίας μοι τὴν δυναστείαν ἐγνώρισας.

Chap. **10**

10.1. πάντα κάλων κεκινηκώς: It literally means, "having moved/pulled every rope". We have used a proverb that tries to capture the meaning of the Greek phrase. A rather common proverb, see, for example, Zenobius' *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 1.98.2 in the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (ed. E. L. LEUTSCH and F. G. SCHNEIDEWIN, vol. 1, p. 31: πάντα κάλων σεῖε.).

10.2-3. μοχθηρίας ἐσχάτης χαλεπώτατον τόλμημα: Alliteration of chi and tau. For μοχθηρίας ἐσχάτης cf. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Commentarii in Joannem* (ed. P. E. PUSEY, vol. 2, p. 106.21).

10.3-**12**.10. εὑρὼν γὰρ Ἑβραῖόν τινα ... ἄφαντος ᾤχετο: these three Chapters deal exclusively with Heliodorus and provide a variation of the typical narrative of the "contract or pact with the Devil" theme, which was much exploited in later European literature and art. For a lengthy list of variations of "bargains/pacts with the Devil" see THOMPSON, *Motif-Index*, M210-M219.4. Radermacher in his *Griechische Quellen*, had already collected and analyzed three of these narratives dating from the fifth to the tenth century. Two of these stories contain a number of particular details concurrent with our text and have already been pointed out by ACCONCIA LONGO ("La Vita", pp. 19-22). The stories in question are:

A) the short story of Proterius (*BHG* 253-253a) [henceforth: *Proterius* with reference to the Radermacher edition] incorporated in the *Life of Basil of Caesarea* by Helladius (attributed to Amphilochius of Iconium). In this narrative a servant called Valens falls in love with the daughter of a senator called Proterius. Valens requests the services of a magician in order to achieve his wish and finally get married to the pious young girl. The magician, unable to grant Valens his wish, brings him into contact with the Devil. Valens signs a written confession of faith to the Devil in which he also rejected Christ and through the help of the demon of fornication finally obtains his wish (see RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 122-132).

B) The story of Theophilus (*BHG* 1319-1322) [henceforth *Theophilus* with ref. to the Radermacher edition as well] is better known in the West through later Latin translations. Radermacher (*ibid.*, pp. 69-70) places its composition in the period between 680 and 850 AD. In this narrative Theophilus is an honest and pious manager (οἰκονόμος) of the Church of Adana in Cilicia, purportedly in the early reign of Emperor Heraclius (before 618). As a result of calumnies Theophilus was removed from his office and in his bid to gain it back he asked the help of a Jewish magician. The Jew took Theophilus to the hippodrome at midnight and presented him to the Devil. Theophilus wrote a confession in which he rejected Christ and the Virgin Mary, sealed it with wax, and gave it to the Devil (RADERMACHER, *ibid.*, pp. 164-168 [oldest version] and pp. 182-194 [later versions]). After that, Theophilus was able to obtain his wish. Contrary to the end of Heliodorus in our text, both heroes are finally saved with the help of St. Basil and of the Virgin Mary respectively.

10.3. Ἑβραῖόν τινα: For the association of Jews with magic in the early Middle Ages see DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 287-293 with references to particular cases of Jewish sorcerers up to the 7th century. For a later period see J. STARR, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Athens, 1939), pp. 69-72, and also 95-96, where Starr gives a translation of the first lines of the present paragraph and further (early) bibliography on Heliodorus. For the Hebrew language and its use in incantations as a possible reason behind this association see L. V. RUTGERS, "Justinian's Novella 146 Between Jews and Christians", in R. KALMIN and S. SCHWARTZ (eds.), *Jewish Culture and Society under the Christian Roman Empire* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 397-398. That the Jews were also considered very powerful magicians see, among others, VAKALOUDI, "Religious Syncretism", pp. 15ff. and n. 80 for further bibliography. See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 19-20 and also the entry *PmbZ* no. 10931. It is possible to trace a general anti-Jewish attitude in this reference, although, as is demonstrated in the previous comment, it is primarily based on earlier literature and especially on the story of *Theophilus*. However, A. Berger classifies this *Vita* together with the *Vitae* of Zosimus, Marcianus of Syracuse, Pancratius of Taormina, and Gregory of Agrigento within a group of southern Italian *Lives* which contain anti-Jewish remarks and may possibly reflect earlier Christian polemics (BERGER, *Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini*, pp. 46-47).

10.4. προσκαλεῖται ... δεξιούμενος: While in *Proterius* (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 122, 125), the intercessor with the Devil is simply described as "one of the abominable magicians" (εἷς τῶν ἀπευκταίων ἐπαοιδῶν) in the *Theophilus* narrative the same person is presented as a "very famous Hebrew, servant of the Devil" (ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀκουστὸς πάνυ τοῦ διαβόλου ὑπουργός). Moreover, in this narrative, Theophilus visits the magician at his home at night and begs him for help (*Theophilus*, ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 164, 186-189).

10.7-8. χάρτην γεγραμμένον ἐπιστολῆς εἶδος ἔχοντα: In the *Proterius* narrative (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 124, 125) the soothsayer gives Valens a letter of recommendation addressed to the Devil, in which the appeal of Valens is briefly explained. In the case of Heliodorus we do not know what the content of that letter could have been, but we may assume from the term used below (γραμματεῖον **11**.3, p. 224), that it was either a contract or a solemn promise of subjection of Heliodorus to the Devil. A similar possibility is described in the 1608 *Compendium maleficarum* of F. M. Guazzo, where it is stated that the "tacit pact involves the offering of a written petition to the devil" (GUAZZO, *Compendium maleficarum*, p. 13).

10.8. δίδωσιν ... γνώμην: BCX preserve the reading εἰσηγεῖται ... γνώμην. I have preferred δίδωσιν to its synonym, but more "official" εἰσηγεῖται because a) preference is given to the readings of VM (here O and E, as well) and b) δίδωμι echoes a New Testament passage, cf. 1 Co 7.25: γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι and *ibid.* 8.10: καὶ γνώμην ἐν τούτῳ δίδωμι.

10.9. κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ μεσαίτατον τῆς νυκτός: See Joannes Chrysost., *In Psalmum* 118, 9 (*PG* 55, col. 688.13). In general, most acts related to magic take place

in the course of the night and, especially, around midnight and this practice was so widespread already from ancient times that in 364 AD Valentinian issued an edict banning all nocturnal magical operations on pain of death (*CTh* 9.16.7).

10.9-10. πορευθῆναι πρὸς τάφους ἡρωϊκοὺς καὶ στῆναι ἐπί τινος στήλης ὑψηλῆς: The expression "heroic tombs" certainly refers to ancient Greek tombs and a similar situation develops in the story of *Proterius* (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 126, 127), in which Valens is instructed to stand on a "Greek tomb" (Ἑλληνικοῦ μνήματος). We have translated στήλης ὑψηλῆς as "high [grave]stone", but it can also mean "high pillar". See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 20 and also 37, with more bibliography, concerning the possible identification of this "pagan cemetery": ... "Quelle che la *Vita* chiama Tombe degli Eroi, dove si conclude il patto di Eliodoro col diavolo, corrispondono probabilmente al cimitero pagano del cosiddetto sepolcro di Stesicoro, come ipotizzava gia il Gaetani, sebbene non si possa escludere che la Catania medievale conoscesse anche altri sepolcreti antichi altretanto imponenti..."

10.11-12. φοβερὸν τῇ θέᾳ: Cf. *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* 12 (*BHG* 224; ed. G. R. WOODWARD and H. MATTINGLY, p. 188.14-15): δράκοντα εἶδε φοβερὸν τῇ θέᾳ. Obviously, here the appearance of the Devil is anticipated.

10.7-15. ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ χάρτην γεγραμμένον ἐπιστολῆς εἶδος ἔχοντα ... τὰ σὰ αἰτήματα: The whole "rite" described here displays some interesting parallels with some of the recipes preserved in the *Greek Magical Papyri* (*PGM* for the Greek text in the edition of K. PREISENDANZ, see *PGM* in the Abbreviations, and for the English translation see BETZ, *Papyri*). In the *PGM* there are two spells that help an individual obtain the services of a helper/assistant demon (Greek πάρεδρος a term found also in *VLB*, see below). The ritual prescribed in both is extremely complicated and in the first spell (*PGM* I.8-20) a piece of choice papyrus (χαρτίον βασίλειον) with the vowels of the Greek alphabet inscribed geometrically on it, is required among other things, see BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 3. The χάρτης γεγραμμένος of our text is the first possible parallel. In the second place, standing on an elevated level is also required by the second spell in *PGM* (=*PGM* I.42-195, the famous spell of Pnouthis): In it, the practitioner of the spell, "on whatever [night]" has to "go [up] onto a lofty roof [or terrace?]" (BETZ, *Papyri*, 4, l. 56), Greek text *PGM* I.56: "ἐν οἵᾳ βούλει νυκτὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δώματος", just like Heliodorus has to ascend a pillar. In the third place, an apparition (of the assistant demon himself) is also expected to happen in the case of the performance of the spell of Pnouthis (*PGM* I.75-76). In fact, the apparition is that of a star that gradually transforms itself into an angel (κατ' ὄμμα καταχυθὲν τὸ ἄστρον, ἀθρήσεις, ὃν ἐκάλεσας ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα σοι). In *VLB* the Devil himself is expected to appear. The injunction to Heliodorus not to be afraid (μηδαμῶς πτοηθῇς, ἀλλ' ἀτρέμας ἵστασο...) has its own parallel in the Pnouthis spell (BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 5, *PGM* I.77-78: "But do not be afraid", σὺ δὲ μὴ δειλοῦ). And, finally, an advice similar to the one the Jewish sorcerer gave Heliodorus not to move from the pillar until his request is granted, is given in the Pnouthis spell, albeit more complicated (BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 5, *PGM* I.81-82: "when he has with certainty accepted this oath of yours", ἐπὰν δέ σοι τοῦτον τὸν ὅρκον ἀποδῷ ἀσφαλῶς).

Chap. 11

The entire Chapter displays extensive alliteration of rho, which is more pronounced in lines 1-4: βδελυρὸς Ἡλιόδωρος μετὰ πολλῆς περιχαρείας ... πληρῶν ἀπέρχεται παραυτίκα πρὸς ... γραμματεῖον μετὰ χεῖρας ἐπάρας ... ἀέρα ... ὥραν ὁρᾷ τὸν τοῦ ἀέρος ἄρχοντα...; 7-8: χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ σοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐκπληρῶσαι... and 9-11: τὸν Χριστὸν χρή σε πρότερον ἀπαρνήσασθαι· τούτου γὰρ γινομένου παρὰ σοῦ.

11.3. γραμματεῖον: This particular reading is preserved by only two manuscripts, E and V (misspelled as γραμματῖον), but I gave it preference because it evokes much more serious semantic associations. It may be assumed that even the γραμμάτιον transmitted by BCX O M was considered correct by the scribes who may have simply used it as an alternate spelling of γραμματεῖον. However, in *LSJ*, and in Byzantine lexicographers (such as Pseudo-Zonaras' *Lexicon*, ed. J. A. H. TITTMANN, gamma, p. 455.6) γραμμάτιον is only the diminutive of γράμμα. On the other hand, the γραμματεῖον proper suggests a number of meaningful associations. Literally, it means "contract", therefore, the "pact with the Devil", and, also, the "bond" that subjects Heliodorus to the servitude of the Devil. It even means "short letter", as is evident in Theodore Studites' correspondence. However, metaphorically, γραμματεῖον, as a synonym of χειρόγραφον (cf. Joannes Chrysost. *De paenitentia* 5 [*PG* 59, col. 765.26-28]: Δεσπότης ἔῤῥηξε τὸ χειρόγραφον, καὶ Ναυάτος συνάγει τὰ διαῤῥαγέντα. Εἶδές ποτε φιλοπράγμονα, γραμματεῖον διαῤῥαγὲν συνάγοντα) recalls the Christian thesis, according to which Christ with His Resurrection rescinded the γραμματεῖον or χειρόγραφον Hades had acquired over humanity as a result of the original sin. This is eloquently illustrated in *Cantica* 45, 15.1-10 of Romanus the Melode (ed. J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, vol. 4, p. 594). Consequently, the implication here is that Heliodorus, by using this γραμματεῖον subjects himself voluntarily, not only to the Devil, but also to the fate of the fallen and unredeemed humanity.

11.5. ἐπὶ μέγιστον εἶδος ἐλάφου ... ἐπιβεβηκότα: The Devil riding a stag is a unique case among the instances in which the Devil is presented traveling. ACCONCIA LONGO ("La Vita", p. 21) already noted that the stag is associated in some other accounts, such as the martyrdom of Eustathius Placidas (*BHG* 641, *AASS*, Sept. t. VI, pp. 124-25) with Christ. Even in THOMPSON's *Motif Index* under G303.7 "How the devil travels", the list includes instances where the Devil rides horses (black, headless, white, blood-red), a donkey, team(s) of oxen, a hog, he-goats, a cow, and flies like a bird, but no stag is listed as a means of (ethereal?) transportation. This particularity of the *Vita* cannot be explained. In the story of *Proterius*, the Devil appears to be sitting on a high throne, surrounded by the spirits of wickedness (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 126-127); in the narrative of *Theophilus*, the hero is taken to the hippodrome of the city and sees in a vision the Devil sitting like an *archon* in the midst of demons.

11.7-8. δυσωπῶ *χάριν εὑρεῖν παρὰ σοῦ*: In my opinion this is another instance of subversive use of language on the part of the author. The expression used by the *VLB* is reminiscent of the response of the angel to Mary at the Annunciation, in the

Gospel of Luke (Luc 1:30: Μὴ φοβοῦ Μαριάμ, εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ). Inevitably, the use of this expression, by implication, sets Heliodorus to the polar opposite of Virgin Mary: Just as she *found favor* with God, Heliodorus seeks and obtains favor from the Devil.

11.10. τὸν Χριστὸν χρή σε πρότερον ἀπαρνήσασθαι: Denial of Christ (in written form) is what the Devil demands from both Valens and Theophilus in the corresponding narratives (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 128-129 and pp. 190-191 respectively). Note the alliteration of rho.

11.11. ... μὰ τὰς ἐμὰς μεγάλας δυνάμεις: The formulation itself is an oath taken by the Devil. The same oath also appears in the narrative of *Cyprianus et Iustina* (*BHG* 452-452b) in which Cyprianus is asked by a demon to take the same oath (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, p. 100): ἔφη ὁ Κυπριανός· πῶς σοι ὀμόσω; εἶπεν δὲ ὁ δαίμων· τὰς δυνάμεις μου τὰς μεγάλας, τὰς παραμενούσας με. ὁ δὲ Κυπριανὸς λέγει· μὰ τὰς δυνάμεις σου τὰς μεγάλας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσομαί σου). This oath can also be viewed as the negative counterpart of the oath proposed by Heliodorus later (see below **22**.9-10). The catch here is, of course, the fact that the Devil himself is the guarantor for the fulfillment of the oath one takes. This is another instance of the subversion of so many Christian acts and deeds present in this text. On the other hand, this may be a typical boast of the Devil, but there is also a chance that here the author possibly echoes ideas associated with Simon the Magus. See Epiphanius Constantiensis, *Panarion (Adv. haereses)* (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 1, p. 238.8-10): ἐφαντασίαζε [sc. Simon Magus] δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ταῖς μαγείαις ἐξαπατῶν τε καὶ δελεάζων, ἔλεγεν δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὴν μεγάλην δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκέναι, see also Acts 8:9-10 (οὗτός [sc. Simon] ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη). For further discussion see FERREIRO, *Simon Magus*, pp. 46-50 and esp. p. 49 n. 44 for earlier bibliography.

11.12. συμπάρεδρον: See next note and below comments in Chapter **12**.

11.12-13. ὃς γενήσεταί σοι συμπράττων καὶ συνεργῶν εἰς πάντα ὅσα ἂν θελήσῃς καὶ βουληθῇς: Cf. *PGM* I.89-91: (the performer of the spell addressing the demon that appears to him): "ἕξω φίλον σε πάρεδρον, εὐεργέτην θεὸν ὑπηρετοῦντά μοι, ὡς ἂν εἴπω, τάχος, τῇ σῇ δυνάμει ἤδη ἔγγαιος, ναὶ ναί, φαῖνέ μοι, θεέ". For the expression συμπράττων καὶ συνεργῶν cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Hom. XVI in Ep. ad Hebraeos* 2 (*PG* 63, col. 128.17).

Chap. **12**

This is one of the most remarkable Chapters in *VLB*. It is a *tour de force* of figures of speech, which include alliterations (of pi, rho, sigma, and tau throughout and, to a lesser extent, of delta and lambda), homoeoteleuta, homoearcha, hyperbata, and one *anadiplosis*. A careful recitation of this Chapter may give the impression that the author chose all the words one by one, aiming at the greatest possible effect of acoustic smoothness and elegance. For more see the index with the figures of speech and the relevant discussion in the *Prolegomena*.

12.2-3. προσέρχεται δὲ καὶ προσπίπτει: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *De decem millium talentorum debitore* (*PG* 51, col. 26.41-43): Μὴ τοίνυν ἀπογινώσκωμεν ἐν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι, μηδὲ ἀπαγορεύωμεν, ἀλλὰ προσερχώμεθα τῷ Θεῷ, προσπίπτωμεν, παρακαλῶμεν. Contrary to John Chrysostom's admonition Heliodorus prostrates not to God but to the Devil.

12.3. καὶ συντάσσεται τῷ διαβόλῳ: The verb that is used is the exact opposite to the verb employed in the course of the sacrament of the Christian baptism (ἀποτάσσεσθαι, cf. P. N. TREMPELAS, *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον*, vol. 1 [Athens, 1950], pp. 344-345: ἀποτάσσῃ τῷ Σατανᾷ; Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ ... Ἀπετάξω τῷ Σατανᾷ; Ἀπεταξάμην ... καὶ συντάσσομαι Χριστῷ).

12.3. ἀσπάζεταί τε τὴν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα: In the story of *Theophilus* (ed. L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen*, pp. 166, 190-191), the Devil kisses Theophilus on the mouth. In *PGM* I.77 and 156 the performer of the spell is also advised to kiss the hand of the demon.

12.4-6. πονηρὸν πάρεδρον ... Γάσπαρ προσαγορευόμενον: The name of this πάρεδρος demon is unattested elsewhere and even in the long lists of names of demons that are recorded for the late Byzantine period. ACCONCIA LONGO ("La Vita", pp. 22-23), has already noted that, in a slightly different form (Κάσπαρ instead of Γάσπαρ of our text), this is the name of one of the Three Magi of Bethlehem. As the Italian scholar notes: "Che i Magi siano considerati anche magi in ambito cristiano è cosa ben nota, ma da maghi a dèmoni corre una distanza non transcurabile". This "significant distance", may be slightly shortened by the following observation: In one of the "medicinal" incantations that are preserved in the Lyon fragments of the *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*, the names of the three Magi are listed in one spell against diseases together with the names of St. Agatha and St. Lucia: see *Hippiatrica, Excerpta Lugdunensia* 104.1-6 (ed. E. ODER and K. HOPPE, vol. 2, p. 297). Although very distant from our text, the enumeration in the same quasi-magical text of three of the names occurring in the present *Life* gives us a small indication of what the stock-knowledge of our author might have been and how some associations of names become possible. For the relationship of early magic to medicine see G. VIKAN, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 65-86, esp. 75ff. For the name Gaspar see *PmbZ*, no. 1932.

As it becomes evident, the whole incident that took place between Heliodorus and the Devil conforms in most of its parts with the rite for acquisition of an assistant (πάρεδρος) demon that is described in the *Magical Papyri*. For the differences between our text and the papyri text, however, see the discussion in the appropriate place of the Introduction (4b, pp. 97ff.). For assistant demons in the pagan world see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 107-116. For a mentioning of assistant demons in early Christian times see the *Martyrium Pionii* 14 (ed. L. ROBERT, pp. 28, and 88, for further references). A more detailed description of the assistant demons, their nature, and their functions can be found in L. J. CERAOLO, "Supernatural Assistants in the Greek Magical Papyri", in M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* [Religions in the Greco-Roman World 129] (Leiden – New York – Köln, E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 279-295. As is aptly demonstrated in

this article, an assistant demon of those described in the magical papyri can be either a divine being, or a celestial phenomenon, or a spirit or even a physical object. If we are to establish an analogy between the assistant demons of the Magical Papyri and the one of our text, then the most relevant case is that of an assistant demon, who is subject to a major pagan deity as is the case of the demon in *PGM* VII.862-918 which is an angel of Selene (*art. cit.*, p. 295).

Basic bibliography for "assistant Demons": M. ELIADE, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* [Bollingen Series 76] (Princeton, 1964), pp. 88-95; C. COLPE, "Geister (Dämonen)", in *RAC* 10 (1974), pp. 621ff.; C. ZINTZEN, "Paredros", in *Der kleine Pauly* (1972), pp. 510-11; K. PREISENDANZ, "Paredros" in *RE* 18,4 (1949), pp. 1428-1453, and esp. 1452-1453; L. MUÑOZ DELGADO, *Léxico de magia y religión en los papiros mágicos Griegos* [Diccionario Griego Español anejo V] (Madrid, 2001), p. 101 for a list of references in the magical papyri; E. SMEDLEY, W. COOKE TAYLOR, et al., *Occult Sciences (Sketches of the traditions and superstitions of past times, and the marvels of the present day)* (London – Glasgow, 2005), pp. 34-41. (Thanks are due to Dr. Hagit Amirav and Dr. N. Zographou for most of the references).

For an attempt at understanding the role of the "assistant demons" in a system of magic that was simply an empty frame by the Imperial Roman times, see R. GORDON, "Reporting the Marvelous: Private Divination in the Greek Magical Papyri", in P. SCHÄFER and H. G. KIPPENBERG (eds.), *Envisioning Magic (A Princeton Seminar and Symposium)* (Leiden – New York – Köln, 1997), pp. 72-75.

12.7. ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἔξαρνος: I haven't been able to find the exact same expression, in any other work. Even its close synonym τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔξαρνος (a variant preserved by V) is rarely attested: once in the *Passio Artemii* attributed to John of Damascus (*BHG* 170; *PG* 96, col. 1292.25-28): καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔξαρνος γενόμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον ... Ρωμαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων θρησκείαν μετάβηθι), and also in the letters of Theodore the Studite, *Epistulae* 85.21, 126.7, and 384.33-34 (ed. G. FATOUROS, pp. 206, 244 and 532).

12.8-9. συμπαρομαρτοῦντα καὶ συνεργοῦντα: Cf. *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, 29 (ed. G. R. WOODWARD and H. MATTINGLY, p. 444.18-20): συνεργίᾳ τῶν συμπαρομαρτούντων αὐτῷ πονηρῶν πνευμάτων...

12.10. ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων is the variant provided by EMV and seems to be a good choice, given also its Biblical provenance (Joh 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11). For the alternative of BCXO ὁ τοῦ σκότους ἄρχων (which, in fact, is stylistically more sophisticated [repetition or *anadiplosis*: ὁ τοῦ σκότους ἄρχων ἐν σκότει διαπορευόμενος...]), cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Hom. LXXV in Joannem* 4 (*PG* 59, col. 408.41) and Id., *In illud: Memor fui dei* (*PG* 61, col. 695.20). For a rather sweeping approach to the nature of the Devil and the historic development of the perceptions about him see, among many, the works by J. B. RUSSELL summarized in his *The Prince of Darkness* (Ithaca NY, Cornell Univ. Press, 1988). For more on both alternatives see also GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief*, pp. 19-20 (ἄρχων κόσμου) and 24-27 (ἄρχων σκότους) and n. 91 for primary sources.

12.10. ἄφαντος ᾤχετο: I have adopted the form ἄφαντος as a *lectio difficilior* provided by OEVM. I have been able to find only two instances of the adjective with the verb οἴχομαι (one is Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 6.35.4 [ed. H. MUTSCHMANN and J. MAU, vol. 3, p. 170]). For the reading ἀφανής, which is more common, cf. Flavius Claudius Julianus, *Περὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πράξεων ἢ περὶ βασιλείας* 8.22-23 (ed. J. BIDEZ, p. 128).

12.11. δείλαιος Ἡλιόδωρος: Alliteration of delta and lambda.

12.13-16. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς παρούσης [ζωῆς] ... ἀπερράγη, πυρὸς παρανάλωμα γεγονώς, ὡς ἀτελευτήτου πυρὸς κληρονόμος, κρίσει δικαίᾳ τῆς παντεπόπτου τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ πάντα προνοίας: This part of the sentence is repeated slightly but deftly altered towards the end of *VLB* (**34**.19-20); therein the Greek text reads as follows: ὃς δίκῃ δικαίᾳ διὰ πυρὸς παραδόξως ἀναλωθείς, ὡς πυρὸς κληρονόμος, πρὸς πῦρ ἀπεδήμησεν ἀτελεύτητον. For possible Biblical sources of this passage cf. Is 66:24, Mark 9:48. The passage also bears some resemblance to a sentence referring to the Iconoclast Emperor Leo III in the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 23 (*BHG* 1666; ed. M.-F. AUZEPY, p. 119): ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ἀπορρήξαντος καὶ τοῦ ἀτελευτήτου σκώληκος καὶ τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς γεγονότος παρανάλωμα... This very same sentence is also found in the *Epistula ad Theophilum imperatorem* 13.a (ed. J. MUNITIZ et al., p. 167.10). Finally, note the alliteration of the letters pi and rho. For an earlier occurrence of πυρὸς παρανάλωμα, see also Athanasius Alexandr., *Historia Arianorum* 70.2.4 (ed. H. G. OPITZ, p. 221).

12.15-16. κρίσει δικαίᾳ τῆς τοῦ παντεπόπτου Θεοῦ περὶ πάντα προνοίας: This sentence harkens back to a line from Hippolytus' *De antichristo* 49.39-42 (*BHG* 812zb; ed. H. ACHELIS, p. 33): ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς [i. e. Antiochus Epiphanes] τὴν ἀνταξίαν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δικαιοκρίτου καὶ παντεπόπτου θεοῦ ἔλαβεν, ὁμοίως βάσανον· γενόμενος γὰρ σκωληκόβρωτος μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον. Note also the alliteration of pi.

12.16. θεσπεσίου θεράποντος: Cf. supra 7.8-9.

12.16-17. ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ: The most common expression is slightly different: ἀρχιερεὺς Θεοῦ, while in the New Testament Christ is referred to as ἀρχιερεὺς once (Hb 9:11); *VLB* is one of the extremely few texts that uses this particular formulation; other occurrences, Theodore of Studios in two of his letters, *Epistulae* 195.24-25 and 222.20 (ed. G. FATOUROS, pp. 319 and 350), addressed to his brother Joseph the archbishop of Thessalonike, uses the expressions ἐκλάμπειν σε ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι Χριστοῦ, and Ἀνάστα οὖν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς ἀρχιερεὺς Χριστοῦ... respectively.

Chap. 13

13.1. ἀποστάτης: The word provides a ready connection with the Devil. Cf. the *Suda*, sigma.151.1-2 (ed. A. ADLER, vol. 4, p. 329): Σατανᾶς· ὅτι Σατανᾶς κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ὁ **ἀποστάτης** λέγεται. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ διάβολος.

13.1-2. τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἀποστατικῶν δυνάμεων: Both the term "apostate" and the present formulation allude to a particular Christian demonological tradition that traces its roots back to the Jewish demonology, namely the tradition that the Devil and his host of demons were angels that fell as a result of rebellion. This tradition goes back to the *pseudepigrapha* of the apocalyptic period of the Jewish religious history (c. 200 BC to 100 AD). In a number of those books (Enoch, the Apocalyptic Book of Jubilees, and the Book of the Secrets of Enoch [2 Enoch]) one can find the pieces of a story that was eventually consolidated into one narrative that described the fall of angels as the result of their lust for the "daughters of men" and of rebellion on account of pride. To these sources was added a literal understanding of a metaphorical passage in Isaiah 14:12-15 where the "bright son of the morning" is presented as the one who boasted that he would "set" his "throne above the stars of God" and as a result has "fallen into Sheol, into the depths of the abyss". The tradition of course is much more complicated and, as Russell indicates, it unites some five earlier Biblical ideas namely 1) the sin of the Devil as pride, 2) the ruin of angels through lust, 3) the fall of the "bright son of the morning", 4) Satan's envy of humanity and 5) Satan's role as prince of demons. For more see J. B. RUSSELL, *The Prince of Darkness*, pp. 35-36 and *ibid.*, pp. 43ff. for the ideological developments in the early Christian times. See also H. ANGSAR KELLY, *The Devil, Demonology and Witchcraft* (Garden City NY, 1974²), pp. 16-23. For a more recent analysis of the same issue and updated detailed bibliography see also GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief*, pp. 7-13.

13.9. γοητείαις καὶ μαγγανείαις: For μαγγανεία see above **9**.3. For γοητεία and its possible original meaning (act of *γόης*) and distinctions from μαγεία, φαρμακεία etc., see DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 13-14, and now NIMMO SMITH, "Magic at the crossroads", pp. 224-237.

13.11. σατανικῆς ἐμπειρίας: Since I was unable to find any authority for σατανικῆς ἐμπειρίας preserved by all the *VLB*'s mss, I wonder whether ἐπηρείας, which is attested at least once, Theodore of Studios, *Epistula* 558.41 (ed. G. FATOUROS p. 857: ἀνωτέραν πάσης σατανικῆς ἐπηρείας καὶ ἐπιθέσεως), could be a possible emendation.

13.12. *συσσείων καὶ συνταράσσων*: Besides its Biblical background, the expression seems to echo a different version of a passage from Isaiah that is cited by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Commentarius in Isaiam* 1.68.86-88 (ed. J. ZIEGLER, p. 103): οἱ ὁρῶντές σε κατακύψουσι, περὶ σοῦ ἐννοήσουσιν. Οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ταράξας τὴν γῆν καὶ συσσείσας βασιλείας· ...

13.14. ἑαυτὸν ὑπεραιρόμενον καὶ ὑπερυψούμενον ἐπεδείκνυεν: Cf. also below a similar expression based on a biblical passage, in **28**.9-11.

13.15-19. Σίμωνα μάγον ... συνέτριψεν ... Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος: Simon is widely considered the first heretic and the precursor of all sorcerers and magicians of the Christian era. The supernatural incident of his defeat by Peter in Rome mentioned here is recorded in the *Acta et martyrium Petri* 32.1-37 (*BHG* 1483-1484; ed. L. VOUAUX, pp. 403-406). As it is recounted in this text, Simon once appeared to be flying in the air in order to challenge Peter and Christianity, but it was the

prayer of Peter that brought him down and led him to his death. Another slightly varying version of the same incident is preserved in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 6.9.15-41 (ed. M. METZGER, pp. 318-320). It seems, however, that *VLB* is closer to another account preserved by the *Martyrium Petri et Pauli* 53-56 (*BHG* 1491; ed. R. A. LIPSIUS, pp. 164-166), in which all the details given by *VLB* are also present (prayer of Peter *and* Paul in front of Nero while Simon is flying, fall, separation into four pieces and death of Simon; for a detailed discussion of these narratives see FERREIRO, *Simon Magus*, pp. 55-81). While the *Acta Petri* preserve an account of Simon's character as a magician, later Christian heresiologists such as Hippolytus and Epiphanius of Salamis give a few details of Simon's doctrine, which in fact, had amalgamated a number of Gnostic traits (see also ANNE WILSON, *Water of Life*, pp. 54 and 57).

For more recent literature on Simon the Magus see J. N. BREMMER, "Aspects of the *Acts of Peter*: Women, Magic, Place and Date", in ID. (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Peter, Magic, Miracles and Gnosticism* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 9-14 and also P. HERCZEC, "*Theios aner* Traits in the Apocryphal *Acts of Peter*", *ibid.*, pp. 35-38; G. LUTTIKHUIZEN, "Simon Magus as a Narrative Figure in the Acts of Peter" *ibid.*, pp. 39-51, and T. ADAMIK, "The Image of Simon Magus in the Christian Tradition" *ibid.*, pp. 52-64. Finally, for a list of representations in Christian art of the incident narrated here ("the fall of Simon") see now FERREIRO, *Simon Magus*, pp. 323-332.

13.16-17. Νέρωνος τοῦ θεομάχου: It seems that it was Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.5.1 (ed. G. BARDY, vol. 1, p. 92) who first branded Nero a God-fighter (or, at least, recorded a popular Christian opinion about him); see also, S. ZEITLIN, "Who Were the Galileans? New Light on Josephus' Activities in Galilee", in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Ser., 64.3 (Jan., 1974), pp. 189-203.

13.18. θεοσυνέργητος (δυάς): A very rare word (three occurrences in the *TLG* and one in the ninth-century *Vita Theodorae Thessalonicensis* 45 [*BHG* 1737-38; ed. E. KURTZ, p. 26]). Theophanes Confessor uses it twice in his *Chronographia* (ed. C. DE BOOR, pp. 14.24 and 20.10) to describe Constantine I. Mango and Scott translate the same word as "God's accomplice", and "God's partner", see MANGO and SCOTT, *Chronicle*, pp. 23 and 33 respectively.

Chap. **14**

This Chapter presents a variation of another typical motif common even today in world folklore. See THOMPSON's *Motif Index*, D2031.1 *Magician makes people lift garments to avoid wetting in imaginary river*, with bibliography. According to J. BOLTE and G. POLIVKA (*Anmerkungen zu den Kinder-U. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, vol. III [Leipzig, 1918], pp. 203-204) the *VLB* passage is the earliest example of this motif (although they date our text to the eighth century). This motif, changed, abbreviated, or expanded appears in a number of later European literary works, including Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (The Franklin's Tale 2, 454) and in Chap. 30 of the late Medieval French romance *Valentin et Orson* (see A. DICKSON, *Valentine and Orson* [New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1928], p. 222,

n. 17 for more bibliography and n. 18). The nature of the whole incident as a joke with rather lascivious undertones is prevalent in *LL* as is in many later adaptations. For another aspect of the same incident based on a partial misunderstanding of the text see KAZHDAN, "Byzantine Hagiography", p. 135.

14.1. ὁ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου πρόδρομος: The basic premise of the idea of the forerunner of the Antichrist is that "just as Christ had many forerunners in the past so Antichrist would be typified by many evil figures" (see R. K. EMMERSON and R. B. HERZMAN, "The Apocalyptic Age of Hypocrisy: Faust Semblant and Amant in the Roman de la Rose", *Speculum* 62.3 [July 1987], pp. 612-634, esp. 621-622 n. 22 with further discussion). The whole concept is based on 1 Jo 2:18: καὶ καθὼς ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται, καὶ νῦν ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ γεγόνασιν· ὅθεν γινώσκομεν ὅτι ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστίν. As a result, many individuals were branded as forerunners of the Antichrist. In the Iconophile hagiography the most usual figures are the Iconoclast Emperor Leo III, see *Vita Germani I patr.* 18 (ed. L. LAMZA, p. 220) or the Iconoclast Patriarch John VII the Grammarian. The earliest forerunner of Antichrist (in the Christian era) is, most likely, Simon Magus. However, of great interest to our study is Marcus, an early heretic who is described by Irenaeus as one of the forerunners of Antichrist (see the *Catholic Encyclopedia s.v.* Marcus). Irenaeus, in his *Adversus haereses*, gives an image of Marcus that approaches that of Heliodorus; see *Adversus haereses* 1.7.1.1-22 (ed. W. W. HARVEY, vol. 1, pp. 114-115, underlined words do also occur in *VLB*): Μάρκος δέ τις ... μαγικῆς ὑπάρχων κυβείας ἐμπειρότατος. Ἀπατήσας δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους πάντας καὶ τὰς προειρημένας προσέχειν αὐτῷ, ὡς γνωστικωτάτῳ, καὶ δύναμιν τὴν μεγίστην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τόπων ἔχοντι, ὡς πρόδρομος ὢν ἀληθῶς τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποδέδεικται. Τὰ γὰρ Ἀναξιλάου παίγνια τῇ τῶν λεγομένων μάγων πανουργίᾳ, συμμίξας, δι' αὐτῶν φαντάζων τε καὶ μαγεύων, εἰς ἔκπληξιν τοὺς ὁρῶντάς τε καὶ πειθομένους αὐτῷ περιέβαλεν. Οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ὁρῶντες δοκοῦσι δυνάμεις τινὰς ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ... οὐχ ὁρῶσι μὴ γινώσκοντες δοκιμάσαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ μαγείας ἡ σύστασις τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ παιγνίου, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἐπιτελεῖται; and also, *ibid.*, 1.7.2.18-24 (p. 117) θαυματοποιὸς ἀνεφάνη, τοῦ μεγάλου πληρωθέντος ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ ποτηρίου, ὥστε καὶ ὑπερεκχεῖσθαι ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἄλλα τινα τούτοις παραπλήσια ποιῶν ἐξηπάτησε πολλούς, καὶ ἀπαγήοχεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ. Εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δαίμονά τινα πάρεδρον ἔχειν...). For Marcus see now: N. FÖRSTER, *Marcus Magus: Kult, Lehre und Gemeindeleben einer valentinianischen Gnostiker* [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 114] (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

14.6-7. The Greek text provides an extensive alliteration of delta: αἱ δὲ δοκοῦσαι διά τινων βαθέων ὑδάτων διαπορεύεσθαι.

14.7. χιτωνίσκους: A woolen garment which was common for men and women. It was worn underneath the outer clothes or simply alone without any other overcoat in the warm months. The diminutive form of the word shows that this was a shorter version of χιτών. There were numerous varieties of tunics, which are described in the *Ὀνομαστικόν* of Pollux, 7.48-49, 52, 54-55, 58, 60, and 62 (ed. E. BETHE, vol. 2, pp. 65-69). The shortest χιτωνίσκοι were as long as the middle of the thigh. Therefore, it seems that Heliodorus forced these women to lift their

garments so high that even today it would have been considered indecent. In fact it is revealed below (**17**.17) that they were forced to lift their tunics up to their thighs (μέχρι μηρῶν).

Chap. **15**

The motif of the transformation of stones into gold indirectly refers to the basic objective of alchemy. However, in the case of Heliodorus this transformation was short-lived in the first place and, second, run against the pattern of the alchemical transformation of base metals, not stones, into gold. The same observation applies to the transformation of wood into silver. Any incident resembling Heliodorus' fraudulent transformations is absent from THOMPSON's lists (see *Motif Index* D475.1-21 *transformation: objects to gold* and D475.3.1-5 *transformation: objects to silver*, although in D475.3.5 a silver dish becomes wooden in an Irish myth). In any case, we can only guess what our author intended to say here: It is unclear whether Heliodorus circulated pre-fabricated fake gold and silver in the market of Catania or produced it on the spot as it seems to happen in the case of the incident in Chap. **31**. Our text characteristically employs the words μεταλλάττων ... τῷ δοκεῖν ἦν (for he transformed [or transmuted] the appearance) the first of which is a term employed by a few alchemical authors such as the anonymous redactor of a text conventionally entitled *De quattuor elementis* (tractatus qui incipit a vocibus ἀρχὴ τῆς κατὰ πλάτος τοῦ ἔργου ἐξηγήσεως [e cod. Paris. B.N. gr. 2327, fol. 227r]), see M. BERTHELOT and C. E. RUELLE (eds.) *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1888, rep. London, 1963), p. 338: θεῖον ὕδωρ ... αὕτη ἔστιν ἡ φύσις ἡ νικῶσα τὴν φύσιν, ἡ μεταλλάττουσα τὰς φύσεις... It is worth noting, however, that, if indeed we have a reference to alchemical practices on the part of Heliodorus here, his golden and silver products must have been the result of tinting procedures of the sort that is transmitted by such works as the *Physica et Mystica* attributed to Democritus, but, possibly, the work of Bolus of Mendes (see ANNE WILSON, *Water of Life*, pp. 1-3). Finally, THORNDIKE, *History of Magic*, vol. 1, pp. 397-398, records two incidents included in the *Apocryphal Acts of John* in which John restores some precious stones that had been pulverized by some young people to their original status and also transforms the pebbles by the sea into gold and precious stones. Unfortunately, I wasn't able to locate these references in the edited text of the *Acta Ioannis*. In a much later summary of the life of John in the *Synaxaristes* of Nicodemus Hagioreites, St. John appears to transmute fodder (or grass) into gold (see ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΡΕΙΤΟΥ, *Συναξαριστὴς τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* [re-edited by Νικολαΐδης Φιλαδελφεύς], vol. 1 [Athens, 1868?], p. 74). As Thorndike states: "medieval alchemists" were persuaded that John "possessed the secret of the philosopher's stone" and this tradition did also surface in later Western hymnography (*ibid.*, p. 398). Another case that resembles the one of Heliodorus is recorded by Theophanes in his *Chronographia* (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 150.12-22) for the year 506/7. Therein we simply have a real con-man (described

as "alchemist" χυμευτὴς by Theophanes), who eventually gets punished by the Emperor Anastasius.

15.1-2. ἡ μέντοι δεινότης τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐκείνου δολιότητος καὶ δημοσίᾳ προέβη: Alliteration of delta.

15.5-6. καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων καὶ ἀ<νω>φελῶν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον: All four adjectives are found in the *Ὀνομαστικὸν* of Pollux 5.136.1-2, 5 and 7 (ed. E. BETHE, vol. 1, p. 298). The ἀφελῶν transmitted by all manuscripts is clearly ἀνωφελῶν, as Pollux's passage indicates. Note also the alliteration of chi and rho in this passage: μέγα χρῆμα καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων καὶ ἀ<νω>φελῶν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον, and the etymological figure (χρῆμα, χρήσιμον).

15.10. διὰ δεινότητα: A very rare expression usually associated with rhetorical style (δεινότης λόγων). Here, however the meaning is straightforward and has nothing to do with rhetoric. Still, Hermogenes uses it in the sense the *VLB* does: see Hermogenes *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου,* 1.4.14-15 (ed. H. RABE, p. 235): ἀλλ' ὅτι διὰ δεινότητα συγκεῖν μέλλων τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἀναστρέφειν τὴν τάξιν... and its eleventh century commentary by Joannes Rhetor 40 (ed. Ch. WALZ, *Rhetores graeci*, vol. 6 [Stuttgart, 1834, rep. Osnabrück, 1968], p. 179.4-6): οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν ζητουμένων ἀτάκτως προέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀποδείξεις διὰ δεινότητα καὶ κακουργίαν συνέχεεν...

15.13-18. τὰς θυγατέρας ... παρ' αὐτῶν: Incidents similar to the one recounted in this Chapter abound in Byzantine hagiography, although it is only in our text that we have this phenomenon of collective lustful behavior incited to such an extent by a magician. In most of the other cases, e.g. the *Vita Irenae in Chrysobalanto* 13 (*BHG* 952; ed. J. O. ROSENQVIST, pp. 52-64) the lusting frenzy is of a personal nature, usually induced by a magician for the purpose of satisfying the demands of a male client. For an overview of similar incidents see also KAZHDAN, "Byzantine Hagiography", pp. 140-142. Concerning the literary roots of the "lusting frenzy", it has been suggested that one possible source can also be the real life case of a certain fourth century deacon, called Glycerius, who had been ordained by Basil of Caesarea (or, rather, by Gregory of Nazianzus). Glycerius eventually left the church he had been appointed to, taking with him many young virgins who followed him without the consent of their parents and who were eventually corrupted by him (see M. FORLIN PATRUCCO, "Agiografia basiliana e agiografia siciliana", in PRICOCO, *Storia della Sicilia*, pp. 75-76). Information on this incident is found in three letters of St. Basil (letters 169-171): see ed. Y COURTONNE, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, vol. II (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1961), pp. 104-106.

Finally, one cannot fail to observe that at least one fourth of the recipes included in the magical papyri are "love spells" or "charms to bind a lover" (see *PGM*, pp. xi-xxii.). In their most common form they are divided into two parts: a) an invocation of a demon or a chthonic deity (*epiklesis*) and b) a petition (*paraklesis*) which is stated as an order to the demon or deity to the effect that a loved person becomes, even unwillingly, erotically attracted to the practitioner or the commissioner of the spell. What is interesting is that this passage in *VLB* is fraught with words found in the magical papyri, which, at the same time, describe the sym-

ptoms of the "lusting frenzy". More specifically, for "οἶστρον" cf. *PGM* IV.2458ff.; *PGM* IV.2904-6; *PGM* IV.2765-66; *PGM* VI.611-12; for "κατακρημνίζειν" (which in **17**.14 becomes ἀφ' ὕψους τε κατακρημνίζειν), cf. *PGM* XIXa.52-53 and *PGM* XXXVI.68-70. Similar also to the expression "καταλιμπάνειν οἰκίας καὶ συγγενείας καὶ γεννήτορας" is the papyri formulation, in which the practitioner asks that the intended victim forgets all relatives and friends (cf. *PGM* LXI.28-30). For μανιωδῶς and for the general tenor of this passage cf. also again *PGM* XIXa.50-XIXb.3. For these symptoms and their depiction in ancient Greek literature see now I. PETROPOULOS, "Συμπτώματα έρωτος στους ερωτικούς μαγικούς παπύρους", in CHRISTIDES and JORDAN, *Γλώσσα και Μαγεία*, pp. 104-119 and esp. 105-111.

15.14-15. πρὸς οἶστρον ἀκαθέκτου φιληδονίας: Cf. *Fabulae Syntipae philosophi* fable 54.7-9 (ed. A. HAUSRATH, and H. HUNGER, *Fabulae Syntipae Philosophi, Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*, vol. 1.2 [Leipzig, Teubner 1959²], p. 179): λογισμοῖς τισιν αἰσχρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας δεινῶς ἐταράττετο, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ πρὸς οἶστρον ἀκολασίας καὶ σφοδρὸν ἔρωτα... I preferred the reading ἀκαθέκτου of OMV to the more common word ἀκολάστου of BCX as a *lectio difficilior*. The expression ἀκολάστου φιληδονίας occurs only in Plutarch's *De vitioso pudore* (ed. M. POHLENZ, p. 348): ἢ φιλαργυρίαν ἄωρον ἢ φιληδονίαν ἐπικόπτων ἀκόλαστον αἱμάσσει καὶ πιέζει... As for the reading ἀκαθέκτου φιληδονίας of OMV, I haven't been able to find any other authority apart from the *VLB* manuscripts, although cf. Proclus, *In Platonis rem publicam commentarii* (ed. W. KROLL, vol. 2 [Leipzig, Teubner, 1901], p. 176.7-9): συμποδίζει καὶ τοὺς Καλλικλέας, τοὺς ἐπαινέτας ἅμα καὶ ζηλωτὰς τῆς τυραννικῆς ζωῆς ἢ διὰ φιληδονίαν ἀπέραντον ἢ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν ἀκάθεκτον.

Chap. 16

16.2. τῷ ὑπάρχῳ: See above, **9**.13.

16.4. διὰ τῶν τῆς τάξεως ὑπηρετῶν: Literally "servants of the order". We preferred to translate the phrase with the simple "officers" in order to describe their function. In all probability they were the soldiers cum policemen of the eparch that served as the "policing" force under the orders of a κεντυρίων (centurion) who was one of the subordinates of the eparch. These soldiers were called ταξεῶται, a term which is akin to the expression used in *VLB*. (See GUILLAND, "L'éparque", pp. 20 and 24).

16.5-6. ὥστε δημοσίᾳ παραδοθῆναι τοῖς ὄχλοις πρὸς ἄμυναν: The phrase can be understood in two ways: either Heliodorus was meant to be stoned by the crowd — a form of execution present in Byzantium (see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. VI, p. 63) — or that he would be simply lynched by the same crowd, a practice also present in Byzantium, see, for example, the death of St. Stephen the Younger, *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 69 (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, pp. 169-170 and pp. 270-271 for French translation), and also the incident below in Chap. **24**, where another attempt

at lynching Heliodorus is thwarted by a Byzantine officer. See also *ODB*, "Execution", p. 768.

16.6-7. ζητήσεως ... γεγενημένης: This is the reading of all existing manuscripts apart from V, which preserves γενομένης; for this reading cf. Act 15:7 πολλῆς δὲ ζητήσεως γενομένης. The meaning here is of course different (= disputation), but the Biblical phrase may explain the variant in V.

16.9. Λούκιος: For the Latin name of the eparch, see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita" p. 41. Acconcia Longo suggests that in the choice of this particular name "l'autore arcaizzi voluntariamente". See also *PmbZ* no. 4636.

16.11. τοῖς τότε: The phrase indicates temporal distance between the author and the events he narrates.

16.11-12. Λέοντι ... καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ: For these Emperors see also the discussion on the dating of Leo of Catania in the *Prolegomena*. The alternative text offered by BCXO can be read in the *apparatus criticus* and translates as follows: "At that time, the most pious Constantine [IV] held the scepters of the Romans with his son Justinian [II]. Constantine was the son of Constans [II] and the grandson of Heraclius". Constantine IV ruled from 668-85, and his son Justinian II ruled from 685-95, and again in 705-11. Constans II sailed to Sicily on July 17, 663 in order to defend it against Arab attacks, making Syracuse his new capital. He was murdered there in 668, see G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1980), p. 122.

16.10-13. διὰ γραμμάτων ... περιεχόντων τὸν τύπον τοῦτον: Cf. *ACO* 1.1.2, p. 8.13: γέγραπται τὰ εἰκότα παρὰ Κελεστίνου ... τύπον φανερὸν περιέχοντα. The alternative reading provided by BCXO (Ἡ δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑφήγησις τοιαύτη τις ἦν) is also interesting and stylistically compatible with the rest of *VLB*. In fact, there is only one occurrence in the *TLG* of a similar phrase found in the late tenth-century historian Leo Diaconus, *Historia* III, 2 (ed. K. B. HASE, p. 38.2-3): ἡ δὲ τοῦ γραμματείου ὑφήγησις ταυτὶ διηγόρευε...

Chap. **17**

17.1-2. Τοῖς θεοστεφέσι ... βασιλεῦσιν: The two first words (θεοστεφέσι αὐτοκράτορσι) are rather common (see, for example, the title of the *De administrando imperio* of Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus [ed. G. MORAVCSIK, p. 44]: ... πρὸς Ῥωμανὸν τὸν θεοστεφῆ βασιλέα...). The next two (νικηταῖς, τροπαιούχοις) are very common in letters to Emperors, cf. the opening of one of the documents addressed by the participants of the Third Ecumenical Council to the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, *ACO*, 1.1.3 [p. 10.27-28]: "Τοῖς εὐσεβεστάτοις καὶ θεοφιλεστάτοις Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανῷ νικηταῖς, τροπαιούχοις ἀεὶ αὐγούστοις...". The same Emperors are addressed as δεσπόται τῆς οἰκουμένης elsewhere in the Acts (cf. *ACO*, 1.1.7 [pp. 100.11, 101.22, 32, etc.]). Even later, in official documents of the Constantinople-Jerusalem Synod of 536 we have the same expressions coupled with the adjective φιλόχριστος, see *ACO* III, p. 61.26:

ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοχρίστους ἡμῶν βασιλέας. All in all, it can be suggested that the author of *VLB* may not have been ignorant of the formalities related to imperial correspondence. For more on these invocations and especially on φιλόχριστος see O. KRESTEN, "Iustinianos I., der "christusliebende" Kaiser. Zum Epitheton φιλόχριστος in den Intitulationes byzantinischer Kaiserurkunden", in *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 21 (1979), pp. 83-109.

17.3-4. τῆς ὑμετέρας μεγαλειότητος: Cf. *ACO* 2.1.1 [p. 65.22], 2.1.2 [p. 59.14], and 2.1.3 [p. 87.42].

17.4. δίκαιον ἅμα καὶ συμφέρον: Typical expression of Ancient Greek oratory, see, among many examples, the *Or.* 17, *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν* attributed to Demosthenes (ed. S. H. BUTCHER, 17, 18.6-7), and Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.* 1160a.13, also the *De sententiis* of Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (ed. U. P. BOISSEVAIN, p. 308).

17.6. γαληνότητος: The adjective "serenity" (γαληνότης) is already common by the time of the Emperor Justinian. The Emperor usually refers to himself as ἡ ἡμετέρα γαληνότης in his *Novellae* (ed. R. SCHÖLL and W. KROLL, pp. 523.25, 572.18, 664.23, etc.).

17.8. τερατοποιός is a very interesting term with regards to what Heliodorus is perceived to be by the people and the eparch of Catania. In a spurious work (*Περὶ γραμματικῆς*) attributed to the grammarian Theodosius of Alexandria (4th-5th cent. AD) but probably written by Theodore Prodromos, the activity of a τερατοποιός is described as follows: Ψευδοτεχνία δέ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν τερατοποιῶν ὡς ἐπί τινος ποιήσαντος χαλκοῦν ἅρμα καὶ ἀναβάτην ἑλκόμενον ὑπὸ μυίας· τοῦτο γὰρ ψευδοτεχνία· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τέχνης, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων ταῦτα ἐργάζεται. Under the light of this passage τερατοποιὸς is just another synonym for μάγος. See K. GÖTTLING (ed.), *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica* (Leipzig, 1822), p. 54.1-5. Positive meaning ("working wonders") is attested in the examples found in *LSJ*. *s.v.* and LAMPE, *s.v.* τερατοποιέω.

17.8. γόης καὶ μάγος: According to the second-century Atticist, Phrynichus (*Praeparatio sophistica*, ed. J. DE BORRIES, p. 56.8), γόης is the atticising form of μάγος. However, already Aeschines in his *In Ctesiphonem* (ed. V. MARTIN and G. DE BUDÉ, p. 137.9-10) had used both terms together. Still, for a more subtle distinction between these two terms based on the Pseudo-Nonnian commentaries on *Oratio* IV of Gregory of Nazianzus see also NIMMO SMITH, "Magic at the crossroads", pp. 227-229.

17.11. ἐπιτηδεύμασι πονηρίας: Cf. Ps 27:4, and Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Interpretatio in Psalmos* 9 (*PG* 80, col. 900A): διδάσκει τὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐπιτηδεύματα.

17.21. ἐν πολλῇ πλάνῃ καὶ ἀπάτῃ: A rather common expression that is employed by many early ecclesiastical authors in order to indicate those who worship idols or the heretics, or even the way the Devil operates. See, for example, the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 2, p. 391.17-19), see also the description of Ebion (an early heretic) found in a letter attributed to Ignatius

Antiochenus, the *Epistula ad Philadelphios* 6.6.3.4-6 (ed. F. X. FUNK and F. DIEKAMP, p. 186).

17.22-23. πρόξενος εἰδωλολατρείας πολλοῖς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων προκείμενος μετατρέπειν πειρᾶται τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν: Cf. *Synodus Cpolitana a. 536*, *ACO* III (p. 122.5-6): δημοσιεύοντες δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν δόγματα πολλοῖς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ἀφορμὴν ἀπωλείας παρέχουσιν. This is another indication of the author's acquaintance with official documents since the expression occurs only here and in two legislative pieces of Justinian.

17.22-27. πρόξενος εἰδωλολατρείας ... ἐπενεγκεῖν: It is not clear what activities of Heliodorus are described in these last lines of the letter. One may assume, that the vague allusions presented above in the middle of Chap. **13**: (He did not stop plotting against... commotion upon everyone) may be referred to here in more concrete terms. The same passage in the *VLA* edition by Acconcia Longo is much more puzzling. The Greek text there ("La Vita", p. 89.22-26) reads as follows: ... ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόξενος [i.e. Heliodorus] τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας μετατρέπων τὸ πλῆθος ἐπείγεται καὶ βούλεται διαπρῆσαι καὶ ἀπωλέσαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. Τὸ γὰρ παρὸν ξόανον τοῦ ἀέρος στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν, μήπως κατελθὸν τὸ Αἰτναῖον πῦρ καταφλέξῃ ἡμᾶς καθότι ὄρος πύρινόν ἐστιν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. Obviously the text is seriously disturbed in this version and the attempt of Acconcia Longo to make sense of it ("La Vita", pp. 15-16 and 32) is as much as one may do, but still there is no definite answer: Acconcia Longo sees in this "present *xoanon*" (underlined above in the Greek text) a reference to a "talisman" that could impede the eruptions of Aetna ("La Vita", p. 16). Comparetti, relying on the Latin translation of the text thinks that it is a statue that protected Catania from Aetna's eruption (COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 268, n. 17). To me the sentence is indecipherable, consisting of at least three not connected parts: 1-Τό ... ἐστιν, 2-μήπως ... ἐστίν, 3-καί ... Ἡφαίστου. In my opinion, this is an indication that the sentence was a marginal note inserted in the text (possibly by a copyist) in bits and pieces. As a result, I can only offer a few additional remarks but, still, no satisfying interpretation. In the last sentence the words describing the ξόανον as a τοῦ ἀέρος στοιχεῖον is closer to the description of the "*parhedros* demon" in the Pnouthis spell: in one instance this demon is identified as "an aerial spirit/πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀέριον" in another as "the only lord of the air/ὁ καὶ μόνος κύριος τοῦ ἀέρος" (*PGM* I.97 and 129). Accordingly, my hypothesis is that in these lines of disturbed text we possibly have a reference to the "*parhedros* demon", with the help of which Heliodorus was threatening to bring the Aetnaean fire down upon the Catanians, but even this suggestion is highly hypothetical.

17.25-27. τοῦ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὄρους κειμένου αἰφνιδίως πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀφανισμὸν φρυαττόμενος ἐπενεγκεῖν: Alliteration of phi.

Chap. **18**

18.4. Ἡρακλείδην: A rather uncommon name for that period and in the *PBE* no such name is attested for the years 640-865, while in the *PmbZ* (no. 2555) our Heraclides is the only entry for this name. According to the *PmbZ* entry, this officer, who is designated as a *protocursor* "müßte ... die Funktionen eines Strator ausgeübt haben, da seine Frau als Stratorissa bezeichnet wird...". Also the *TLG* occurrences in authors of the period between sixth to tenth centuries are always about earlier individuals with this same name, such as Heraclides of Pontus.

18.4-5. ὃν πρωτοκούρσωρα καλεῖν ἔθος Λατίνῳ γλώττῃ: The office of *protocursor* is very rarely attested in Byzantine sources and its function is not entirely clear because the sources give different descriptions depending on the period. The two occurrences that show up in the *TLG* come from the early period. One *protocursor* is attested by Joannes Malalas' *Chronographia* 14.2.16 (ed. I. THURN, p. 272), in the reign of Honorius and Arcadius and a second one in the times of Phocas I (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 294). See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 42-43: "I κούρσορες che in origine erano un corpo di cavalleria leggera, divennero poi funzionari di basso livello, che mantenevano l'ordine all'ippodromo e precedevano I cortei imperiali, qualcosa di simile a poliziotti". Mango and Scott translate the *protocursor* in Theophanes' *Chronographia* as "chief messenger", see MANGO and SCOTT, *Chronicle*, p. 423. Finally, in the *Strategicon* of Ps.-Mauricius 1.3.15.1-16.2 (ed. H. MIHAESCU, p. 62) *κούρσορες* are foot-soldiers who run in front of the army formation and chase fleeing enemies. Concerning *VLB*, the author is slightly mistaken in thinking that the word "protokoursor" is a Latin one. Certainly the second part (cursor) is in fact Latin but the whole word is simply Byzantine, for κούρσωρ see Ch. GASTGEBER and J. DIETHART, "Λέξεις ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου. Ein byzantinishes Fremdwörterlexikon", in L. BURGMANN (ed.), *Fontes Minores X* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 448 and 456.

18.6. τριάκοντα δὶς ἡμερῶν: Literal translation "thirty days twice", that is, sixty days. It is difficult to judge the accuracy of the time-indication for the trip from Constantinople to Sicily and back (here the text implies approximately thirty days for each part of the trip). Information in the hagiographic and other Byzantine sources is extremely scarce (see E. MALAMUT, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* [Paris, 1993], p. 240). Of interest here is the fact that our ninth-century author refers to a period in which no Arab threat was present (for the impact of Arab occupation of Sicily on traveling see E. MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin* [Paris, 1988], p. 538). Presumably the information can be considered reliable. According to the *ODB*, "Travel", p. 2109: "An uneventful sea voyage from Constantinople to Cyprus in the 12th century took 10 days...". McCormick also takes this information at face value and, reckoning on a twenty four-hour sailing schedule, calculates the speed of the boat to be 3.25 knots, which "approaches the pattern established for other voyages, which, for long stretches, sailed against the prevailing winds" (MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 498-499). For these kinds of

trips see also J. H. PRYOR, *Geography, Technology and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 32 and 36-37.

18.8. δύσμορον Ἡλιόδωρον: *Homoeoteleuton.*

Chap. **19**

19.1. διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀποπλεύσαντος: A rather uncommon time for departure, since usually ships left ports at daybreak. Possibly, here the time is set so in order to indicate the urgency of Heraclides' mission. However, MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 426, gives a possible, more realistic explanation: "... around the Mediterranean the land breezes that in summer prevail before eight in the morning and after six or seven in the evening would have made those time slots most propitious for many departures".

19.4-5. προσαγορεύσας ... ἔφη: Here the magician appears to have certain foreknowledge of Heraclides' mission. The *PGM* offer numerous charms and spells that enable the practitioners to foresee future events; see, for example, *PGM* III.263-275 and III.282-409 and 424-466.

19.13. ζῆν μετ' ἀδείας: See Joannes Chrysost., *Expositiones in Psalmos* (*PG* 55, col. 473.51).

Chap. **20**

20.6-7. ἀποδιδράσκειν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπτοούμην φυγεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν: Cf. the assurance the Pnouthis spell in *PGM* gives to those who have obtained the help of an assistant demon: "he [i.e. the assistant demon] frees from bonds in prison, he opens doors, he causes invisibility so that no one can see you at all" (λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν ἁλύσεσι φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει, ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς καθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ: BETZ, *Papyri*, 6/*PGM* I.101-102).

20.7. μὴ δὴ διαπράξησθε τὰ τῶν δραπετῶν εἰς ἐμέ: The way Heliodorus expresses himself is a little unclear. Certainly, a crime suspect could be detained or imprisoned during the stages of interrogation (see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. III [Athens, 1949], pp. 244-245). If we assume that the letter of the eparch Lucius above was an official submission of charges against Heliodorus for the crime of sorcery, then his arrest was warranted and we can also assume that Heraclides had been authorized by the Emperors to proceed with it. Since Heliodorus is accused of sorcery (γόης), imprisonment was one of the possible penalties according to Photius' *Νομοκάνων* (RALLES-POTLES, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 1, p. 192), see also Heliodorus' presumed incarceration for the same reason below in Chap. **22**, **26**, and also **30**. Here, Heliodorus expects to be apprehended and put under custody. Consequently, he assures Heraclides that he will not escape and asks not to be treated as

a fugitive. For the fugitives there were very harsh penalties that included execution. For more, see KOUKOULES, *ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

20.8. ὁ δὲ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ ἄδειαν ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι: Alliteration of delta. The expression typically indicates the "safe passage" right conceded by the authorities to people. It originally appears in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (ed. E. C. MARCHANT, 1.9.13.5-14.1.34).

20.11. παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων: It can possibly be understood also as "from the wealthy", which is another meaning of the Greek "ἔχοντες". In any case, the information and the narrative setting is so vague that it is impossible to decide whether we have a reference here to the *συνωνή* (Lat. *coemptio*), the mandatory purchase by the state of provisions for Byzantine soldiers from the inhabitants of the place where the army was billeted or just marching through.

20.13-14. κἀγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἄδειαν ἀδεῶς διαναπαύεσθαι μέχρις ἂν ὑμᾶς εὐοδώσω διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας...: Alliteration of delta again in a phrase uttered by Heliodorus in such a manner that he outdoes Heraclides in the use of language (four deltas in Heraclides' words, seven in Heliodorus'). This alliteration makes the sentence sound as an *apodosis* to the "he gave safe passage" (**20**.8) above: freedom for Heliodorus, leisure time for Heraclides and his retinue, in return.

Chap. 21

21.6. λουτρὸν: For the use of baths in Byzantium see *ODB*, "Baths", pp. 271-272 and, among many others, MANGO, "Daily Life", pp. 339-341. For the baths in Catania we do not know much, but, at least, one place referred to in our text (Ἀχίλλιον below Chap. **34**) used to be a bathhouse (in fact a Roman *therma*) called Ἀχιλλιαναί (see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 37 and nn. 5-7 for further bibliography).

21.7-8. δαιμόνιον τέρας: Here, again, I have preferred the reading τέρας of MV to φάσμα of BCXO, based on the considerations originating from Eusebius' text referred to above in the relevant comment of Chap. **9**.2. Crucial for my decision was the presence of the word "incredible/ἀπιστότατον".

21.8-10. εἰσεληλυθότων ... ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ καὶ λουσαμένων ... ἐν τῷ κολύμβῳ συνεισελθεῖν: The text sums up the various stages of a complete bath. We shouldn't be wrong in assuming that the term "entered/εἰσεληλυθότων" may be implying the removal of the clothes and their deposition in the *vestiarium*. The verb λουσαμένων should be indicating the entry into the hot room, where the people exuded sweat, were rubbed by special attendants or slaves and then were led into another spot, where the dirt was rinsed off by hot or lukewarm water. Finally, the entry into the pool (ἐν τῷ κολύμβῳ συνεισελθεῖν) was the final stage of the bath, during which the individual entered a large pool with cold water and swam for a while. For a detailed description of all these stages and references to the primary sources, see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. IV (Athens, 1951), pp. 448-455.

21.8-12. εἰσεληλυθότων ... μικρὰν ῥοπήν: From its external characteristics this particular magic act looks like a reversal of the Christian baptismal rite, although many parts of the Christian rite are missing here even in reversed form. The basic "negative" characteristic is the avoidance of the name of Christ. For more about "magic and reversal" and its implications, see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 229-233. For bathhouses as places for practicing magic *par excellence* see BERGER, *Das Bad*, pp. 132-35, and W.F. RYAN, *The Bathhouse at Midnight, Magic in Russia* (Sutton Publishing, 1999), pp. 52-53, with references to Byzantine bibliography. Finally, note that this particular method of magic transportation is missing from THOMPSON's *Motif Index* (see esp. D2120-2137 and D1520-1539).

21.13-15. Ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περισκοπούμενοι καὶ διαπορούμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ παραδόξῳ παρ' ἐλπίδας παρουσίᾳ καὶ πρό γε πάντων Ἡρακλείδης: Extensive alliteration of pi and rho.

21.16-17. ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παμμεγέθει βαλανείῳ: It is impossible to determine which, in fact, the "grand imperial bathhouse" was. Some grand bathhouses were attached to or were part of the Great Palace in Constantinople, but none of them is further specified in the text. It is known that the baths of Dagistheus and the "great bath of Oikonomeion" were part of the imperial palaces. Also, one of the largest and most famous baths, the *thermae* of Zeuxippus (situated between the Hippodrome and the Great Palace), were linked with the palace by way of a direct passage, but they were definitely a public establishment (a possibility not excluded by our text). That bath went out of use in the sixth or seventh century. This building was a memory of a dazzling past and was perceived by the tenth century as a place of magic operation — its heating was thought to be provided by a magic lamp (see T. PRAEGER [ed.] *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. II [Leipzig, 1901], p. 136). Certainly by the middle Byzantine period "elaborate baths were known only in the imperial palace, where they served as a part of the imperial ceremonial..." (D. ABRAHAMSE's review of BERGER's *Das Bad*, in *Speculum* 60.1 [1985], p. 120) and a βασιλικὸν βαλανεῖον (as is described by our text) is recorded by Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* I, 21 (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 35). At any rate, the text is of no help here at further determining the particular imperial bath, suggesting thus the idea that our author is either ignorant about the particular details of Constantinopolitan localities or that he consciously sidesteps them. For more details about baths in Constantinople see F. YEGÜL, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge MA – London, 1992), p. 324 and also BERGER, *Das Bad*, pp. 144-159; for the bath of Zeuxippus see C. MANGO, *The Brazen House* [The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters IV.4] (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 37-42, and also *ODB*, pp. 271-72. For the bath of Oikonomeion, which may be identified with what is in other sources the bath in the Palace of Marina and was renovated by Leo VI, see now MANGO, "The Palace of Marina", pp. 321-330.

21.18-19. μηδενὸς ταῦτα φυλάσσοντος: In Byzantine baths there was a special attendant guarding the clothes of the patrons and he or she was responsible for any losses. For more, see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. IV, p. 448.

Chap. **22**

22.7. ψιλῆς ἐρωτήσεως: For the questioning of the accused at the Byzantine court see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. VI (Athens, 1955), p. 48 and also *ODB*, "Criminal Procedure", p. 348.

22.8-9. ἀλλὰ θᾶττον κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ἀπεφήνατο κατ' αὐτοῦ: According to KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. VI, p. 63, capital punishment was not only the death penalty (usually by beheading, stoning, drowning, or burning) but also the loss of citizenship and slavery. After the eighth century mutilation, blinding, and consignment to the mines were also considered capital punishments, see also G. DENNIS, "Death in Byzantium", *DOP* 55 (2001), pp. 6-7.

Concerning the interrogation and sentencing of Heliodorus, it has to be observed that in its entirety this is a strange judicial procedure, rather germane to the "fabulous" character of our story. Certainly, earlier Byzantine legislation provided for the death penalty for sorcerers (see S. TROIANOS, "Η θέση των μάγων στήν Βυζαντινή κοινωνία" in Chr. A. MALTEZOU [ed.], *Οι Περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο* [Athens, 1993], pp. 271-295, here 286, for the Isaurian legislation on sorcery). However, death is not the prescribed penalty for the kind of magic action performed by Heliodorus and described by Heraclides, unless the Emperor pronounced the death penalty based on the assumption that Heliodorus' action was the result of demonic co-operation. This assumption brings us closer to the spirit of the legislation of Leo VI and his *Neara* 65 in which the death penalty is prescribed for sorcerers because sorcery presupposes association with demons (see TROIANOS, *ibid.*, p. 289).

22.9. καθώρκωσε: The Greek verb used here is very rare. For oath-taking in Byzantium see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. III, pp. 346-375.

22.9-10. *κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: For this particular Biblical expression as the oath formula proposed by Heliodorus, see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 361, and n. 2 for another source. It is ironic that Heliodorus might use an oath invoking Christ here, but his ends justified his means.

22.11-13. Ἐπιδοθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ ... ἄφαντος γέγονεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν: Cf. Jerome, *Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum*, *PL* 23, col. 404C. Jerome reports that Apollonius of Tyana once disappeared before the Emperor Domitian. The details of the magical disappearance of Heliodorus in this instance are, nevertheless, spectacular. The closest parallel I have been able to find is included in a later story about Virgil found in the *Cronaca, sub anno 1420* of Giovanni Sercambi and cited — translated into English — by SPARGO in *Necromancer*, p. 165: "The emperor ordered Virgil to prison and eventually condemned him to death, but Virgil *escaped on the way to execution by reciting an incantation over a basin of water and was immediately whisked away by evil spirits*" (emphasis added, text originally published by S. BONGI in *Le Chroniche di Giovanni Sercambi* III [Lucca, 1892], pp. 258-60, no. 301). See also ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition,* p. 881.

Another much later English version of the same incident is also interesting in that it preserves a number of words from our text:

"Then the Emperor, roused to indignation, seized Virgilius and cast him into prison, condemning him on a certain day to be brought thence and put to death; and when on the appointed day the poor prisoner was led forth to die on the Viminale Hill, having reached the fatal spot, he begged pitifully that *some water might be given him to drink*. So *they brought water in a pail*, but he, drinking not thereof, cried aloud, "*Emperor! All hail! Seek me at Catania.*" So saying, he *leaped* head foremost *into the pail and vanished* from their midst." (ANONYMOUS, *The Wonderful History of Virgilius the Sorcerer of Rome, as told by men of High Germany, together with many Rhymes made by men of France and Italy, now first put into the English Tongue* [London, David Nutt in the Strand, 1893], p. 35).

Note that this escape of Virgil concludes a Virgilian story, part of which is also found in our text, namely the story of the extinguishing of fire in Constantinople by Heliodorus and the punishment of Aithalia (see below Chap. **26**). In THOMPSON's *Motif Index* there seem to be a few motifs similar to this one, such as K551.2 (*Respite from death until prisoner has finished drinking his glass*) or K551.17 (*Respite from death for drink of water*).

22.14. σῴζοιο: A rather rare expression of parting; Theodore of Studios is fond of using it in his correspondence (*Epistulae* 104, 127, 160, 256, 297, 380, and 386, ed. G. FATOUROS, pp. 222, 245, 282, 386, 436, 519, 536), and there are also three more in the *Ethiopica* of Heliodorus.

Chap. **23**

23.7-9. πρὸ τοῦ τὸ πλοῖον προσορμίσαι τῇ γῇ, προέφθασεν Ἡλιόδωρος πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἐφιστάμενος, λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς προσαγορεύων αὐτούς: Note the extensive and complicated alliteration of the pi, rho, omicron (and sigma).

23.13. βεβαιώσεως ἀρραβῶνα: BCXO transmit: βεβαίως ἀρραβῶνα, a rather intricate expression that can be translated in many different ways (e. g. "pledge" see LAMPE, *s.v.* ἀρραβών, B, or even "warranty", "security"). There may be some legal allusion here that escapes me. According to the grammarian Harpocration (1st/2nd cent. AD), *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, ed. W. DINDORF, p. 72.7-11) in Athens there was an action to which a purchaser was entitled against a vendor in the event a third party disturbed or impugned on the possession of the purchaser. This action was called βεβαιώσεως δίκη, The person who sold or had simply already received a guarantee or down payment was liable to such a suit, (ἀρραβῶνα) for any item the ownership of which was contested by others, see P. J. REIMER "Zur *dike bebaioseos* bei Harpokration", in *Mnemosyne* 9 (1941), pp. 153-156.

In any case, if the BCXO reading is accepted (λάβε ... βεβαίως ἀρραβῶνα), then, the translation changes as follows: "confidently accept from me the promise that..."

23.14. διὰ μήκους ἡμέρας μιᾶς αὐθημερόν: Cf. Julius Pollux, *Ὀνομαστικόν* (1.64.3-4): τὸ δὲ διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας πραχθὲν αὐθημερόν... The same phrase is also repeated below in **25**.17-18. Αὐθημερὸν seems to be an additional gloss that was

inserted in the *VLB* text of the hyparchetypes, unless the author himself had misunderstood the passage of Pollux cited above and simply repeated it.

Chap. **24**

24.6-7. Κεκίνητο δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως: The wording here is very close to the description of the reaction of the people of Constantinople to the attempts of the Emperor Anastasius to introduce Monophysism in the Empire as is recorded by Georgius Monachus in his *Chronicon breve* 213.6 (*PG* 110, col. 764.45-46): ἐπῆλθεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως κατ' αὐτῶν· καὶ μόλις ἐξέφυγον.

24.11-12. δοκιμασίας καὶ διακρίσεως: I opted for the reading διακρίσεως, which can also translate as "superior judgment, examination, scrutiny" (see LAMPE, *s.v.*, διάκρισις C. 2 and 3), although for a similar case see A. B. DRACHMANN (ed.), *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927), *Nemea*, Ode 8, Schol. 34b.1-3. For the alternative reading δοκιμασίας καὶ κρίσεως, transmitted by BCXO, cf. Soz., *Hist. eccl.* 2.27.12.3-13.1 (ed. J. BIDEZ and G. C. HANSEN, p. 90).

Chap. **25**

25.3. ῥάβδον δαφνίνην: It is unclear whether this denotes just a walking staff or a magic wand; the Greek can possibly mean both. On the use of laurel in ancient magic see *RE*, vol. 13, col. 1439-1442. However, it is interesting to note that, as Eustathius of Thessalonike wrote, it was Callimachus who associated the word rhapsody (ῥαψῳδία) with the fact that the Homeric poets used to recite their poetry holding onto a laurel rod or staff (see ed. M. VAN DER VALK, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vol. 1, p. 10). Although there is no reason to deny the possibility of this being a magic wand (a magic wand could also be as big as a rod) we still preferred to translate ῥάβδον by rod instead of "magic wand", since it seems that the whole magic incident in this episode is the result of the invocation of the assistant demon.

25.3/4-5. σχῆμα πλοιαρίου and διαγραφὴν τοῦ πλοίου: It is difficult to determine what kind of boat exactly is meant by these terms (a third one employed at the end of this Chapter [l. 8 and 19] is ναῦς) and the problem is further compounded by the fictional character of the passage. Πλοιάριον is reminiscent of the New Testament (Mk 3:9) which refers to a small size boat. However, it may also denote a boat of any size. By the general tenor of the passage one may assume that it was a rather medium size boat, which could also be propelled by oars, perhaps a merchant ship. For terminology problems and the nature of the boats that were used in the period *VLB* was written, see MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 404-406, and also G. MAKRIS, "Ships", in LAIOU, *Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 1, pp. 91-100.

25.3-4. *τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης*: In the later metrical *Vita* (*VLM*, 40.118), Heliodorus carves the boat in the sand (ἐν ψάμμῳ τῆς θαλάσσης), rather than in the hollow of the sea. The problem is that this is originally a Biblical quotation (Ps 64:8: ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης), the exact translation of which is still an issue: Sir L. BRENTON (*The Septuagint with Apocrypha* [London, 9th repr., 2001], p. 735) translates it as "who troublest the depth of the sea". We have preferred the word "hollow" since it is the basic meaning for κύτος provided by the *LSJ*, *s.v.* κύτος.

25.3-10. διαχαράττει ... παρεσκεύασεν: The whole incident has not been catalogued by THOMPSON. For this see the proposed supplement to the *Motif Index* ([D479.9 etc.] along with a number of cross-references [D1118 *Magic Airships*, etc.]) by M. BASTIAENSEN, in "La nave magica di Gloricia", *Italianistica*, 9.2 (1980), p. 248. What is rather unclear in our version is more apparent in *VLA* (ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 93). Therein, it is stated that Heliodorus transforms the drawn boat into a real one by calling the name of his assistant demon. No doubt, changing an image of a boat into a real one, complete with her sailors and armaments was an easy job for a *parhedros* demon, as the text of the Pnouthis spell reveals (see BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 6/*PGM* I, l. 105-127). Bastiaensen considers the Leo version of this motif the earliest one (*ibid.*, p. 244) and it can as well be. Noteworthy is also the fact that among the various appearances of this motif listed by Bastiaensen, a version of it is also associated in the *Cronica di Mantua* of 1414 (or later) of Bonamente Aliprandi with Virgil (BASTIAENSEN, *art. cit.*, pp. 242-243 and also SPARGO, *Necromancer*, p. 47). Finally, see also ACCONCIA LONGO "La Vita", pp. 24-25, and now ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 879-881.

25.4. διατάσσει τε τοὺς ναύτας: For the crews that manned merchant ships, which varied from six sailors for the early medieval ships to sixty in later times depending on the size of the boat and the purpose this boat was used for (slave or product trade), see now MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 416-418.

25.5. πρῳραίους: Although this is a grammatical derivative of the word πρῷρα, that must have been formed by analogy to the word πρυμναῖος < πρύμνη, it is not listed by *LSJ* (*s.v.* πρῷρα), and is not included in any of the texts of the online *TLG* version. Therefore, this should be an *hapax*.

25.6-7. ἐφόδια, ὅσα τε πρὸς διατροφὴν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἀποσκευὴν ἐπεφέροντο: For the supplies that were usually put in baskets and sacks in the course of the trip, see MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 409.

25.13-15. Καλάμους ... τοῦ Ρηγίου ... Κοτρώνην ... Ὑδροῦντα: All the place names represent well-known trade posts along the South tip of the Italian peninsula (Calamizzi of Reggio [Calabria], Croton, and Otranto) on the way from Sicily to Constantinople. See ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 39, with further bibliography. This is also the established trade route of those traveling from the western shore of Italy to the East. According to A. AVRAMEA, "Land and Sea Communications, Fourth-Fifteenth Centuries" in LAIOU, *Economic History of Byzantium*,

vol. 1, p. 87, travelers from Genoa would sail along the west coast of Italy, cross the straits of Messina and then, following the coastline of Calabria and Apulia, they would reach Otranto from which port they would cross to Kerkyra (Corfu) on the East side of the Adriatic Sea. Otranto did become a port of primary importance for those who navigated in the Adriatic after the ninth century (*ibid.*, p. 86 and nn. 188, 189 for further bibliography). Interesting is also the form Κοτρώνη for Croton, which, to my knowledge, is not attested by any other text earlier than the *Alexias* of Anna Comnene (1.12.8.15, ed. B. LEIB, vol. 1, p. 45). If I am not mistaken, *VLB* might be the earliest Byzantine attestation of this form in Greek, unless this reading is the result of scribal intervention at a time when Κοτρώνη was a common form for Crotone: M and V that transmit this reading date from the fifteen and sixteenth century respectively.

25.19. Βουκολέοντι ... ὁρμητηρίῳ τυγχάνοντι: This is the only place in Constantinople known to the author by name. It took its name from an ancient statue depicting a lion capturing a bull. For this harbor (cf. ὁρμητηρίῳ) that adjoined the south-west part of the Great Palace, see R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine* (Paris, 1964), pp. 101, 120-121, 297-298 and *ODB*, "Boukoleon", p. 317. For more details one can now consult C. MANGO "The Palace of the Boukoleon", in *CahArch* 45 (1997), pp. 41-50. According to Mango: "The name Boukoleon, whose etymology is uncertain, is first attested in c. AD 800. In texts of the ninth and tenth centuries it designates a stretch of shore, a harbour, and, occasionally, a terrace overlooking that harbour..." (*ibid.*, p. 41). It is in later times that the same name designates a group of buildings known as "the palaces of Boukoleon". According, always, to Mango, this must have been the result of the building programs initiated by Nicephorus Phocas that were completed on the day of his death (12/10/969). Phocas added new walls and fortifications turning the SW part of the Great Palace into a kind of a castle. "The sector enclosed by Phokas became the Palace of the Boukoleon and eventually became synonymous with the Imperial Palace..." (*ibid.*, p. 42). More recent publication on it is by J. BARDILL, "The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999), pp. 216-230, esp. pp. 216, 226 and n. 54. *VLB* refers only to the existence of a harbor, which may give us one more *terminus ante quem* for its composition, namely the reign of Nicephorus Phocas (963-969).

25.20-21. ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἄφνω γέγονεν ἄφαντος: The words alliterate on phi. This alliteration becomes more extensive if we assume that the upsilon of αὐτῶν sounded as a phi too. The (assumed) acoustic proximity of αὐτῶν to ἄφνω determined my choice of this particular word order over the one preserved by BCX.

25.1-23. The incident of this phantom boat is also reminiscent of a short story from the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, namely the story of Macarius, the disciple of Anthony the Great: While exhausted and thirsty in the desert, Macarius was tempted by the Devil to ask God for food as Anthony used to do. When Macarius rejected this proposal, the Devil made a phantom of a camel loaded with all the necessary provisions and sent it to stand in front of Macarius. That phantom disappeared after Macarius prayed, see *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 21.14-24 (*BHG* 1433-1434; ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, pp. 124-125).

Chap. **26**

The motif of a magician (here Heliodorus) extinguishing the fire from an entire city (here Constantinople) and making it available exclusively through the private parts of a woman who had insulted him (here Aithalia) becomes rather common in later European and Asian literature. A similar tale is told of Virgil later. The first to thoroughly investigate this motif, its origins and its ramifications was COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, pp. 327ff. and esp. 329-332. See also SPARGO, *Necromancer*, pp. 200 and 204, ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 32-36, and now ZIOLKOWSKI and PUTNAM, *Virgilian Tradition*, pp. 874-890

26.1-4. περιηγγέλη πᾶσιν ... παρουσία ... πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ... πείσεσθαι: Extensive alliteration of pi.

26.5. στρατώρισσα: The female of *strator*, "the title of subaltern and provincial officials found on seals of the eighth and ninth centuries" (according to the *PBE*). For more on the imperial dignity of *strator* see OIKONOMIDES, *Listes*, p. 298: "Stratôr ("écuyer: membre d'une *schola* palatine au VI[e] s.; attesté comme dignité peut-être déjà au VII[e] s.; dernières mentions datables: fin X[e]-début XI[e] s."). According to the most recent bibliography, *stratorissa* was called the wife of the *strator*, see MARGAROU, *Τίτλοι*, p. 133 and n. 4 for further references and bibliography. Her title is not inconsistent with the office of her husband Heraclides, who could also have been *protocursor* and *strator* at the same time (see *PmbZ* nos. 2555 and 7256). However, the fact that the story here is an abridged version of a folklore tale (see above the introductory remark to Chap. **26** and the relevant discussion in the *Prolegomena*, pp. 108-109), may account for any possible inconsistencies.

26.5. Αἰθαλία: An extremely rare name (as it is spelled in our text; Θαλία in *VLA*, p. 95); *PmbZ* (no. 7256) lists only this fictional woman under this name. "Aithalia" is the name of an island close to Sicily on the route from Sicily to Corsica. For a rather speculative discussion of the association of this name and her fate with pagan rites of purification in Sicily see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 34-36, esp. 34.

26.8-10. πτυέλου αὐτῆς τὸ στόμα ... ἐναπέπτυσεν ... βδέλυγμα: Both the gesture and the words are typical tokens of Byzantine abuse. For spitting on someone as an expression of hatred and contempt see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. III, pp. 309-310 and n. 14 for references to primary sources. For the expression "outcast" (κάθαρμα) see, *ibid.*, p. 298, n. 5. Moreover, see now the exhaustive discussion of this word as a "term of abuse" from its classical origins up to the Modern Greek times in N. NICHOLAS and G. BALOGLOU, *An Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds – Translation and Commentary* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 345-348, commentary to verse 681 of the poem.

26.13-14. παραβολὴν καὶ παράδειγμα: Originally, both terms described different forms of simile, see, for example, Tryphon Alexandrinus, *Περὶ τρόπων* (ed. L. SPENGEL, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3, p. 200.4-6): Ὁμοίωσίς ἐστι ῥῆσις, καθ' ἣν ἕτερον

ἑτέρῳ παραβάλλομεν, εἴδη δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσι τρία, εἰκών, παράδειγμα, παραβολή. And here also is the difference between παράδειγμα and παραβολή: *ibid.* pp. 200.31-201.2: διαφέρει δὲ παράδειγμα παραβολῆς, ὅτι τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἀπὸ γεγονότων πραγμάτων παραλαμβάνεται, ἡ δὲ παραβολὴ ἐξ ἀορίστων καὶ ἐνδεχομένων γενέσθαι. Although these two terms occur exclusively in grammarians and rhetorical treatises, the author of *VLB* uses it as a proverbial phrase. By employing these two words, which are synonyms, and almost creating a tautology the author tried to insinuate that Heliodorus had the intention of making Aithalia into a notorious example/story of what happens to those who publicly insult sorcerers (or, better, him).

26.14. κοινὴν ὕβριν καὶ καταγέλωτα: As is explained in the *Suda* κατάγελως is a specific form of insult. See *Suda* chi.338.1-3 (ed. A. ADLER, vol. 4, p. 810): Χλευασία· ὕβρις τις, εἶδος οὖσα τῆς ὕβρεως. καὶ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστι κατηγορεῖται αὐτῆς· τῆς γὰρ ὕβρεως ἡ διὰ καταγέλωτος γινομένη χλευασία καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ διὰ πληγῶν ὕβρις ὁμωνύμως. The meaning here is, therefore, that of insulting someone by ridiculing and abusing him.

26.16. τὸ πῦρ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως σβέσαι: For a similar story from the period of Constantine I see Epiphanius *Panarion* (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 1, p. 348), in which a Jewish convert and *comes* of the Emperor Constantine called Josephus, tried to build a Christian church in Tiberias and the Jews, in their attempt to frustrate his plans, magically extinguished the fire that was supposed to burn in seven kilns that produced asbestos for the building of the church. Eventually, Josephus, using blessed water, unraveled the spells of the Jews and the fire started again. For this incident and the wider context of the cultural/religious antagonism in which it evolved, see now VAKALOUDI, "Religious Syncretism", pp. 7-10 and esp. 10.

26.18-23. Καὶ λέγουσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ βασιλεῖς ... πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπήνεγκεν: A second summary interrogation, trial, and condemnation of Heliodorus. This time his penalty is starvation, but it is not clear whether this was meant as a final punishment which was expected to bring death, or as just a form of torture. Death by starvation as punishment for sorcery is not officially mandated by any Byzantine law, as far as I know.

Chap. **27**

27.2. ἀρθήτω ὁ μάγος: The use of this word goes back to the Old Testament (Is 26:10: ἀρθήτω ὁ ἀσεβής). However, in the Byzantine judicial procedure it came to signify the official announcement of one's condemnation (usually to death) and it was the judge, who used the words "ἀρθήτω ὁ δεῖνα" or "ἄρατε τὸν δεῖνα" that initiated the process of execution. See KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. VI, p, 52 and also Georgius Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 52.16-17): καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ μὲν κρίνων "ἀρθήτω", οἱ δὲ τὸ "ὁ ἀσεβής" ἐπέλεγον, οἱ δὲ τῶν τοῦ παλατίου χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν ἡμμένοι μετ' ἀτιμίας ἐξῆγον σύροντες τὸν κατά-

κριτον. A similar phrase appears also in the *Chronicon breve* 183.6 of Georgius Monachus (*PG* 110, col. 624.17-19).

27.3. θυμοῦ πολλοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ πλησθέντες: An expression common in hagiography, cf. *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae* 37.1-3 (*BHG* 1877; ed. M. R. JAMES, p. 83): ἀνήγγειλε ταῦτα τῷ ἐπάρχῳ, ὃς θυμοῦ πολλοῦ πλησθείς, κατακρίνει αὐτοὺς εἰς θηρία βληθῆναι and Joannes Damasc., *Laudatio s. Barbarae* 17 (*BHG* 217; *PG* 96, col. 804.37-38): Τότε ὁ ταύτης πατὴρ θυμοῦ πολλοῦ πλησθείς, καὶ ζήλου σατανικοῦ.

27.4. εἰς δημοσίαν ἐξέτασιν: From our rather literal translation, it becomes clear that this is the public trial of Heliodorus, which concluded with his condemnation to death. Usually, such an interrogation was also conducted with the "help" of torture; cf. Socrates Scholasticus, *Hist. eccl.* 7.14.20-22 (ed. J. BRIGHT, p. 295 = *PG* 67, col. 765C). Another public interrogation and trial with more realistic details is recorded in the *Narrationes animae utiles* of Anastasius of Sinai, for which see below **34**.14-15. For more on public interrogations and trials (of Christian martyrs though) in the early centuries see MPOURDARA, *Τὸ δίκαιον*, pp. 69 and 70-79 for the description of the stages of a trial. Certainly, in *VLB* not a single detail is given apart from the fact that it is the Emperor who sits as a judge and that after a brief questioning Heliodorus confesses his guilt and – unrepentant, but threatening for worse to come – is sentenced to death. What is interesting here is the nature of the accusations, which amount to "endangering the lives of the citizens by famine". Although we are in the realm of literary conventions, this accusation and the subsequent sentence are still consistent with secular legislation against magic. Already, a law passed by Constantius (*CTh* 9.16.5), prescribed "extinction" for those "who dare by means of magic arts to disturb the elements of nature" and "do not hesitate to ruin the lives of innocent people". Even later legislation provides death for those who use magic to harm people, see the *Ecloga* of the Isaurian Emperors (L. BURGMANN, *Ecloga, Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos V.* [Frankfurt am M., 1983], p. 17.43).

27.4. σὺν αὐστηρίᾳ: The same rare word is found in the *Vita Tarasii* 9.11 (ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, p. 78). For the general demeanor of the judges during the trial see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. VI, p. 48.

27.6. Ὁ δὲ κατέθετο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: Although the meaning is very easy to construe, the use of the verb κατατίθημι (+ infinitive) in this particular sense is extremely rare, attested only by the *Commentarius in Hexaemeron* attributed to Eustathius of Antioch (*PG* 18, col. 784.58-59): διακονῆσαι τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως κατέθετο, δολοφονῆσαι τὸν Μωϋσέα ἐπαγγειλάμενος.

27.9. νηδύος: The metrical *Vita* (*VLM*, lines 210-221) makes the point more explicit explaining that Heliodorus lit the fire in between Aithalia's thighs (τῆς Εὐθαλίας τῶν κνημῶν τῶν ἀποκρύφων ταύτης // τὸ πῦρ ἐναπεκόμιζον μείζονες καὶ ἐλάττω).

27.11. τούτοις τοῖς ἀτόποις ῥήμασι: Alliteration and paronomasia, cf. also Joannes Chrysost., *Ad illuminandos catecheses* 1-2, 4 (*PG* 49, col. 228.60).

27.13. σπεκουλάτωρ: Cf. Mark 6:27, where it means "executioner", a meaning also attested in the *Lexicon* of Ps.-Zonaras, sigma 1663.7 (ed. J. A. H. TITTMANN, vol. 2, col. 1663.7), see also LAMPE, *s.v.* The *speculator* was usually a soldier or officer who carried out an execution with his sword, see also MPOURDARA, *Τὸ δίκαιον*, p. 87.

27.14-16. οἱονεὶ σφαῖραι δύο τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ καθωράθησαν ἐκπηδήσασαι ... ἀποπτῆναι διὰ μέσου αὐτῆς: I have been unable to find any similar instance of escaping. The closest pattern recorded in THOMPSON's *Motif Index* comes under D1526.2 *Magic ball flight.* "Man throws ball and is carried along with it". This spectacular escape can also be credited to Heliodorus' assistant demon. In the Pnouthis spell the demon "...will carry you [into] the air/βαστάξει σε εἰς ἀέρα" (see BETZ, *Papyri*, p. 6/*PGM* I.119). See also ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 26, for a discussion of magical spheres in the *Life of Isidore* by Damascius. Perhaps – and this is highly speculative – relevant to these spheres may be the so called *Hekatikoi strophaloi* that are connected to the ἴυγγες mentioned by Psellus (see D. J. O'MEARA, *Pselli Philosophica minora II* [Leipzig, Teubner, 1989], p. 133.17-20). As is described in the text by Psellus, this *strophalos* was a golden ball with a sapphire in the middle that was also inscribed with characters and was used during invocations by Neoplatonist theurgists such as Proclus or Iamblichus. See also J. DUFFY, "Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos", in MAGUIRE, *Byzantine Magic*, p. 85. For more bibliography on this instrument see also R. MAJERCIK, *The Chaldean Oracles* [Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 5] (Leiden – New York – Köln, Brill, 1989), pp. 29-30 and 215.

27.17-18. ζῆθι καὶ σῴζου, ζήτει δέ με: Alliteration of zeta.

Chap. **28**

28.9-11. ἵν' *εἰδῆτε* τὸν *ἀσεβῆ* ... ἀπολλύμενον: For this passage see above, in the Prol*egomena,* 2e, p. 65.

28.11. κακῶς ἀπολλύμενον: A very rare expression whose origins can be traced back to the Greek tragedians: See the preserved fragments from Euripides' *Hypsipyle* frag. 60.14-15 (ed. G. W. BOND, p. 40): ἰὼ παῖδ', ὡς ἀπόλλυμαι κακῶς· ὦ μάντι πατρὸς Οἰκλέους, θανούμεθα.

Chap. **29**

29.1-2. ἀγῶνος ἱππικοῦ τελουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Καταναίοις: For the existence of a hippodrome in Catania, which was destroyed by an eruption of the volcano in 1669, see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 38 and n. 20 for further bibliography. See also J. H. HUMPHREY, *Roman Circuses, Arenas for Chariot Races* (Berkeley – Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1986), pp. 575-576, and A. CAMERON,

Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 345. As is indicated in the narrative, the contest in which Chryses was involved was not a chariot, but a simple horse-race. Despite the fact that our author employs terminology of chariot-racing (ἀγὼν ἱππικός), it becomes clear from the context that the words describe a plain horse-racing: Chryses mounts the white horse (ἐφ' ὃν ἐπιβὰς ὁ νεανίας) and overcomes all other horses. Note that the same image emerges from all other versions of *LL* as well, ACCONCIA LONGO "La Vita", p. 85 (ἵππος ... εἰς ὃν καθίσας ὁ νέος...), *VLM*, p. 44, verse 252: (καὶ ἐπιβὰς ἐξώρμησεν ὁ καλὸς νεανίας). Here we have a very interesting piece of information, and possibly a unique reference to a sport, the existence of which is not otherwise attested. Scholarship holds that chariot races declined and disappeared after the seventh century (see *ODB*, "Horses", p. 948, and *ibid*., "Chariot races", p. 412; further bibliography includes R. GUILLAND, "La disparition des courses", in *REB* 17 [1959], pp. 89ff. and MANGO, "Daily Life", pp. 344-353), but there seems to be not a single mentioning of horse-racing proper in any source; see, for example, B. SCHRODT, "Sports in the Byzantine Empire", *Journal of Sport History* 8.3 (1981), pp. 40-59 in which chariot-racing, polo, and, later, jousting are the only horse-related sports that are mentioned. KOUKOULES in his *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. III, pp. 4-147, discusses extensively the Byzantine hippodrome and all athletic contests performed in it, but gives no reference to horse-racing. Consequently, our text may be the only extant source attesting to this form of athletic competition. For a more recent utilization of this reference see R. A. MARKUS, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 129, n. 16, with earlier bibliography.

29.2. Χρύσην: Starting with the famous Homeric priest of Apollo, the name is rather common in ancient times, but it becomes much less frequent in the Byzantine period. No Chryses is included in the *PBE*, and this is the only one in *PmbZ* (no. 1152). In the Christian inscriptions from Sicily there is just one Chryses attested of unknown date and perhaps non-Christian (see V. STRAZZULLA, *Museum epigraphicum, seu inscriptionum christianarum quae in Syracusis catacumbis repertae sunt corpusculum*, ser. 3, vol. 3 [Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia] [Panormo, 1897], p. 304: Χρύσης ἐνθάδε κῖτε).

29.6. μὴ συνιδὼν τὸν δόλον: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *De sancta Pelagia virgine et martyre* 2 (*BHG* 1477; *PG* 50, col. 581.2): ὁ Θεὸς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἐτύφλωσεν ὥστε μὴ συνιδεῖν τὸν δόλον...

29.6-7. τὸν δόλον τῆς ἐπαοιδίας αὐτοῦ: Cf. Jerome's, *Vita S. Hilarionis*, *PL* 23, col. 38B. Jerome reports that Italicus went to Hilarion for protection against a rival who had hired a magician ("maleficus") to conjure demons for purposes of winning the chariot races. That the hippodrome was another fertile place for magic and especially magic related to races and procuring victory or (at least) substandard performance for the opponents of the user of magic services is commonplace. See *ODB*, "Magicians", p. 1266, and also MAGOULIAS, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints", pp. 228-269 and esp. 242-245 for a number of sorcery stories related to the hippodrome. See also above (**10**.3-**12**.10 and **11**.5) the narrative of *Theophilus*, where the hippodrome at midnight appears as the abode of hosts of demons. For

more on magic at the hippodrome see now F. HEINTZ, "Magic Tablets and the Games at Antioch", in Ch. KONDOLEON (ed.), *Antioch, The Lost Ancient City* (Princeton Univ. Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000), pp. 166-167 and n. 6 for bibliography, and, finally, DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 293-298.

29.8-12. παρέστη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἵππος λευκός, ... ἄφαντος ἐγεγόνει: Another incident that is difficult to interpret. There seems to be nothing in THOMPSON's *Motif Index* that closely resembles this. The relevant magic actions in the *Motif Index* are transformations of one thing into another, while here we have the apparition of a white horse *ex nihilo*. It seems that this incident is another demonstration of what a *parhedros* demon can supposedly do. In the Pnouthis spell it is stated that: "He (i.e. the *parhedros* demon) changes in whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile" μεταμορφοῖ δὲ εἰς ἣν ἐὰν βούλῃ μορφὴν θηρίου, πετεινοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τετραπόδου... (BETZ, *Papyri*, 6/*PGM* I.118-119)". The last words of the passage ("... it was a demoniacal apparition, ἦν γὰρ φάντασμα δαιμονιῶδες") lend some support to the above interpretation. If this is the case of the horse, then cf. THOMPSON, *Motif Index* F401.3.1 (*Spirit in form of horse*) which may apply here. Unfortunately, the book by M. OLDFIELD HOWEY, *The Horse in Magic and Myth* (New York, 1923) is of no help at all.

29.8-9. εὐθαλής: The manuscripts transmit εὐθαλής, but an εὐθαλὴς ἵππος (flourishing, beautiful and, here, strong horse) which is not wrong, is not attested by any source, since this adjective usually qualifies nouns from the semantic domain of "flora". I kept that reading, but one might consider the word εὐσταλὴς as a possible emendation since I was able to find a reference to an εὐσταλὴς ἵππος (good-mannered horse) in Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon* (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 712.13): εὔδρομοι ἵπποι καὶ εὐσταλεῖς.

29.12-13. φάντασμα δαιμονιῶδες or φάσμα (BCXO): For the concept that the result of demonic operation (here effected by a magician) are just apparitions see, among others, the *Vita Gregorii Decapolitae* 7.4-6-3 (*BHG* 711; ed. G. MAKRIS, p. 70). For more hagiographic references see, the *Vita Constantini Iudaei* 47 (*BHG* 370; *AASS*, Nov. t. IV, p. 641D and F); the *Vita Euthymii Iunioris* 21 (ed. L. PETIT, p. 185.25-26): "εἰ δὲ φάσμα ὑπάρχεις δαιμόνιον τῶν ἡμετέρων προθύρων ἀπόστηθι". Another magician who was able to conjure up demonic apparitions was a certain Gourias that appears in the *Vita Ioannicii* by Sabas 18 (*BHG* 935; *AASS*, Nov. t. II.1, p. 351A). Finally, it is interesting to note that this expression was applied by the Byzantines to the mythical Empousa, see Hesychius, *Lexicon* epsilon 2507.1 (ed. K. LATTE, vol. 2, p. 82): Ἔμπουσα· φάσμα δαιμονιῶδες ὑπὸ Ἑκάτης πεμπόμενον.

29.13-14. ἔμεινεν ἐννεός: Alliteration of nu and ῥητορικὴ ἐπαναστροφή, see above p. 56, n. 71.

Chap. 30

30.4-6. θαυμάσιον ἐκεῖνον ἵππον ... ταχινὸν ἔχειν ἵππον: The conjuring up of a *white* horse may also be intentional on the part of Heliodorus (or rather of the narrator). In the tenth century the eparch (or prefect) of Constantinople was allowed to ride a white horse (see MANGO, "The Palace of Marina", p. 329, although GUILLAND, "L'éparque", p. 29 states that the eparch of Constantinople had the privilege of using a chariot drawn by two horses and preceded by a herald). In view of this information, one may wonder whether Lucius wanted the horse for himself. One may also puzzle over the possibility of intentional irony on the part of the author or even interpret this detail as an authorial attempt to sow a subversive quality into all actions of Heliodorus.

30.12. λυμεὼν Ἡλιόδωρος: Two words that produce an alliteration on the sound lambda iota. Note that λυμεών literally translates as "destroyer, spoiler, corrupter", see *LSJ*, *s.v.*

30.14. περιπεσόντα πλάνῃ: The verb περιπίπτειν is frequently used to imply that a human falls into a disagreeable or adverse circumstance (ἀρρωστίᾳ, θανάτῳ etc., see *LSJ*, *s.v.* περιπίπτω II. 3), however, its combination with πλάνῃ is very rare, cf. Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (ed. N. FERNANDEZ MARCOS and A. SAENZ-BADILLOS, p. 139.23-24): ἵνα μὴ ἀδεῶς τοῦτο δρῶντες, τῇ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων δαιμόνων περιπέσωσι πλάνῃ, etc.

30.17. τῇ φρουρᾷ παραπεμφθῆναι: Heliodorus is sent to prison on the vague and generic charge of being a "a most wicked and crafty man", which may be assumed to be a circumlocution for "magician" or "evildoer". For the prisons (for which φρουρὰ is a common term) in Byzantium see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. III, pp. 224-229 and also *ODB*, "Prisons", p. 1723.

Chap. 31

31.1-2. τοὺς ἕλκοντας αὐτὸν στρατιώτας: The anonymous soldiers featured in this Chapter are catalogued in *PmbZ* under no. 10236.

31.4. ποσότητα χρυσίου λιτρῶν τριῶν: The Byzantine pound, a continuation of the Roman pound, was divided into twelve ounces. A Byzantine pound of gold, which is the case in *VLB*, was equal to 72 golden *nomismata*. This means that Heliodorus "offered" the soldiers the equivalent of 216 golden *nomismata (solidi)*. For Byzantine weights see S. BENDALL, *Byzantine Weights, An Introduction* (London, 1996), and also C. ENTWISTLE, "Byzantine Weights", in LAIOU, *Economic History of Byzantium*, vol. 2, pp. 611-614. For a comparison of the wages of Byzantine officials between the sixth and the tenth century to the amount Heliodorus gave to the soldiers, see now, C. MORRISSON and J.-C. CHEYNET, "Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World", in LAIOU, *ibid.*, pp. 859-861. If we take into account that in the year 911 AD a plain soldier of a *tagma* earned 9 *nomismata* per

year (*ibid.*, p. 861), the amount Heliodorus offered to Lucius' soldiers was astronomical and closer to the amount a *strategos* of a fourth category *theme* would earn in ninth century AD (5 pounds of gold, see *ibid.*, p. 860).

31.6. χαίρων ὅπου βούλει πορεύθητι: Cf. Act 5:41: ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες... A possible expression of granting safe conduct.

31.7. χρυσοειδῆ λίθον: There is no doubt that here Heliodorus is presented to have produced the illusion of a golden stone (see below).

31.9. λόγους οὐκ ἀληθεῖς πλασάμενοι: Alliteration of lambda and *litotes*.

31.11-12. αὐτὸς ἄφαντος ἄφνω πεφηνὼς ᾤχετο: Alliteration of phi.

Compare this incident to the more generic reference to similar deeds of Heliodorus above Chap. **15**. In the Pnouthis spell the *parhedros* demon can also perform the following tasks for his "master": "he carries gold, silver, bronze, and he gives them to you whenever the need arises" βαστάζει χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, χαλκόν, καὶ δίδωσί σοι, ὅταν χρεία γένηται... (BETZ, *Papyri*, *5/PGM* I, l. 99-100). However, it seems that here, Heliodorus may have performed some kind of magical deception.

Chap. **32**

32.1-2. χριστομιμήτῳ χρηστότητι χρώμενος: The text produces alliteration on the letters XP, the monogram for Christ. the word χριστομίμητος is attested no earlier than the seventh century. It first occurs in works of John the Faster, *Sermo I* (*PG* 88, col. 1925D), John of Damascus, *Encomium in s. Joannem Chrysost.* 17 (*BHG* 879; *PG* 96, col. 780.11), and in the *Vita Theophylacti ep. Nicomediae* 9 (*BHG* 2451; ed. A. VOGT, p. 75.28 as an adverb).

32.3. κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι: Cf. above **28**.11 and also Demosthenes, *Or.* 7, *de Halloneso* (ed. S. H. BUTCHER, 45.6): προσήκει αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι. Note also that the phrase continues with alliteration of lambda: κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι συναπολλύντα πολλοὺς ... πολλάκις μεταστελλόμενος...

32.5-6. παρακαλεῖν καὶ νουθετεῖν ἅμα καὶ παραινεῖν οὐκ ἐνέλιπεν: The verb ἐνέλιπεν appears in other sources complemented by either a participle (cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Fragmenta in Jeremiam* [*PG* 64, col. 745.35-36]: οὐ γὰρ ἐνέλιπε πάντα παραινῶν καὶ συμβουλεύων) or an infinitive (cf. Joannes Scylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Const.7 iterum. 10.9-10 [ed. I. THURN, p. 242]: οὐδὲν τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ παντελῶς ἀπηγορευμένων πράττειν ἐνέλιπεν). Here I have adopted the infinitive form, giving preference to MV (and O).

32.9-10. οὐκ ἐπαύετο προκόπτειν τοῖς χείροσιν: A similar expression (ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον προέκοπτεν) appears in the third recension of the Alexander Romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes. It is also found in three later historians: Josephus Genesius, *Βασιλεῖαι*, 4.18.8 (ed. I. THURN and A. LESMÜLLER-WERNER, p. 71), Georgius Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι (libri VII de Andronico Palaeologo)* E, 9 (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 388.4) and also Joannes VI Cantacuzenus, *Historiae* II, 15 (ed. L. SCHOPEN, p. 395.17). In the first and the last cases the context suggests deterio-

ration of one's health and in the other two a general deterioration of circumstances. Here the phrase is used in apparent contrast to the New Testament report of Christ's advance in wisdom, etc. (Luc 2:52).

32.10-11. *προστιθεὶς ... ἀνομίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτοῦ*: Ps 68:28, cf. also Joannes Chrysost., *Sermo VII de jejunio* (*PG* 60, col. 723.25): καὶ προστίθεται ἀνομία ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτοῦ. It is worth noting that the whole passage of this Chrysostomic sermon, in which this phrase occurs, refers to Simon the Magus and explains that his first transgression was the original sin to which he added his act of sorcery as a second transgression. This seems to be a conscious allusion of our author to the work of John Chrystostom.

32.13. φρίκης ἄξια: The expression is very rare and occurs only twice in two sermons of John Chrysostom. The whole sentence in *VLB* (κατατολμῆσαι διαπαίζειν καὶ χλευάζειν τὰ φρίκης ἄξια μεγάλα μυστήρια) remotely echoes these two works. See Joannes Chrysost., *In diem natalem* 6 (*PG* 49, col. 359.10-12): ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι παίδων ἀνοητότερον σχεδὸν διακείμενοι, τὰ φρίκης ἄξια καὶ πολλοῦ θαύματος γέμοντα διασύρουσι... and *Hom. XLVII in Joannem* 1 (*PG* 59, col. 263.5-8): Καὶ γὰρ φρίκης ἄξια τὰ λεγόμενα σήμερον. Καὶ πῶς, ἄκουε. *Ἀμὴν γάρ, φησί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μή τίς μου φάγῃ τὴν σάρκα*, etc., the italicized lines refer to the Eucharist.

32.13. μεγάλα μυστήρια: Here is meant the Holy Eucharist, but the terms go back to the ancient Greek mysteries. Originally, the "great mysteries" were part of the Eleusinian Mysteries or even the Eleusinian Mysteries themselves (see *Suda* tau.19.1-8 [ed. A. ADLER, vol. 4, pp. 495-496], and for bibliography see, among many, L. BRUIT ZAIDMAN and P. SCHMITT PANTEL [transl. P. CARTLEDGE], *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* [Cambridge, 1993], pp. 137-141).

Chap. 33

33.4. ὡς δῆθεν χριστιανός: A characterization that is applied by both Epiphanius of Salamis and Didymus the Blind to an early heretic called Hierakas, see Epiphanius Constant., *Panarion* (ed. K. HOLL, vol. 3, p. 133): Ἱερακᾶς ... ὑπῆρχε δῆθεν Χριστιανός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτείᾳ. Georgius Monachus employs the same expression (*Chronicon*, ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 700): therein, various heretics such as the Arians and the Nestorians are described as δῆθεν Χριστιανοί.

33.5-9. ἤρξατο τὰ τῶν ἡμιόνων μιμεῖσθαι λακτίσματα, σκιρτῶν ἀτάκτως καὶ ... ἐφαλλόμενος καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰς γέλωτα κινῶν, ποτὲ δὲ φλυαρίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις αἰσχρῶν ῥημάτων εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐνάγων τοὺς συνεληλυθότας: For this passage the author must have been inspired by the *Vita Antonii* 82.6-9 (ed. G. J. M. BARTELINK, pp. 346-348; *PG* 26, col. 957.27-960.7):

> δακρύσας [i. e. St. Anthony] ἔλεγε· Μέλλει τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὀργὴ καταλαμβάνειν καὶ μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίοις ἀλόγοις κτήνεσιν. Εἶδον γὰρ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ κυριακοῦ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἑστῶτας ἡμιόνους κύκλῳ

πανταχόθεν, καὶ λακτίζοντας τοὺς ἔνδον οὕτως, ὡς ἂν ἀτάκτως σκιρτώντων κτηνῶν γένοιτο λακτίσματα. Πάντως δὲ ᾔσθεσθε, φησί, πῶς ἐστέναζον. Ἤκουσα γὰρ φωνῆς λεγούσης· Βδελυχθήσεται τὸ θυσιαστήριόν μου. Ταῦτα εἶδεν ὁ γέρων. Καὶ μετὰ δύο ἔτη γέγονεν ἡ νῦν ἔφοδος τῶν Ἀρειανῶν καὶ ἡ ἁρπαγὴ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅτε καὶ τὰ σκεύη μετὰ βίας ἁρπάσαντες, δι' ἐθνικῶν ἐποίουν βαστάζεσθαι.

And shedding tears he said: "Wrath will seize the Church, and it is about to be given up to men who are like irrational beasts. For I saw the altar of the Lord's House, and mules standing around it on all sides in a circle, and kicking the things therein, just like a herd kicks when it leaps disorderly. And you sensed", he said, "how I groaned, for I heard a voice saying, 'My altar shall be defiled.'" These things saw the old man, and after two years took place the present attack of the Arians and the plunder of the churches, when they snatched violently the vessels, and made the heathen carry them.

I have underlined the key words that do also appear in *VLB*. Only remotely comparable is another passage found in Leontius of Neapolis' *Life of Symeon the Fool*: Symeon disrupts the church service by throwing nuts and putting out candles and then, when chased, he went up to the pulpit and kept throwing nuts to the women, see KRUEGER, *Symeon*, pp. 145-146; for the Greek text see *Vita Symeonis Sali* 4 (*BHG* 1677; ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE), pp. 79-80. For an approach comparing this *VLB* incident with Symeon the Fool, see now S. A. IVANOV [transl. S. FRANKLIN], *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond* [Oxford Studies in Byzantium] (Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 133-134.

However, if I am to speculate on another direction, the behavior of Heliodorus resembles here that of the participants in any of the irreverent feasts that were held during the Middle Ages under the names of *Feast of Fools* or *festum stultorum, festum follorum, festa asinaria*. These took place on or about the feast of the Circumcision (1 Jan.) every year and were marked by much license and buffoonery. For these licentious feasts see the relevant articles in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (*s.v.* "Feast of Fools", "Feast of Asses", "Boy-Bishop"). For the purposes of this commentary it is enough to state that these feasts continue earlier pagan festivals, such as the *Saturnalia* and the *Brumalia*, and have always been the bone of contention between the official Church and the unruly crowd that participated in them displaying a behavior that, at times, got out of hand. In this particular passage we see Heliodorus a) behaving like a mule, kicking, and leaping on the congregation of the church during the celebration of the Holy Liturgy, a behavior that caused laughter, and b) speaking excessively in obscene language, which caused the indignation of the crowd. Concerning the first part of Heliodorus' behavior one cannot but notice the parts of the preserved "Song of the Ass" that was sung in the thirteenth century during the *festa asinaria* in the Cathedral of Beauvais. Each strophe of the song concludes with a donkey's braying and the whole parody of a liturgy is filled with braying and noisemaking on the part of the participants; for more details see E. K. CHAMBERS, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford, 1903, rep. 2001), vol. 1, pp. 274-300, and also the musical rendering of the whole "La fête de l'âne" by, among many, the Clemencic Consort led by René Clemencic (Harmonia Mundi

France, 1980, 1998). See also H. C. GREENE, "The Song of the Ass", in *Speculum* 6.4 (Oct. 1931), pp. 534-549, and also M. FASSLER, "The Feast of Fools and *Danielis Ludus*: Popular Tradition in a Medieval Cathedral Play", in Th. FORREST KELLEY (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* [Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2] (Cambridge – New York, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 65-99 and esp. 72-80 (I wish to thank Prof. Alexander Lingas for the above reference). For the second part of Heliodorus' behavior, essential are the contents of a letter included translated, into English, in CHAMBERS' work (*ibid.*, vol. 1, 294, n. 2). The letter was written in 1445 by the Faculty of Theology, University of Paris, and reads as follows: [on the Feast of Fools] "... Priests and clerks may be seen wearing masks and monstrous visages at the hours of office. They dance in the choir dressed as women, panders or minstrels. They sing wanton songs. They eat black puddings at the horn of the altar while the celebrant is saying Mass. They play at dice there. They cense with stinking smoke from soles of old shoes. They *ran and leap through the church* without a blush at their own shame. Finally they drive about the town and its theaters in shabby traps and carts; *and rouse the laughter of their fellows and the bystanders* in infamous performances, with *indecent gestures and verses scurrilous and unchaste*".

For more on official condemnations of the excesses of the Feasts of Fools see now W. TYDEMAN (ed.), *The Medieval European Stage 500-1550* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), pp. 114-117, 564-5, 568, 627, 630.

That this kind of behavior and feasts was also known in the Byzantine Empire is beyond any doubt. It is certain that it persisted through the centuries as is attested by both the fourth-century rhetor Libanius in his *Progymnasma* 12.5.6.1-8 (ed R. FOERSTER, *Libanii opera* vol. 8 [Leipzig, Teubner, 1915], pp. 473-474), and eight centuries later by the twelfth century canonist Theodore Balsamon in his commentary on canon 62 of the Council in Trullo (see RHALLES-POTLES, *Σύνταγμα*, vol. 2, pp. 448ff.). The kind of behavior displayed by Heliodorus, as described by our hagiographer, seems to occur in the course of the Byzantine celebration of the Calends of January, see KOUKOULES *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. II.1 (Athens, 1949), pp. 16-17.

33.9. τὰ τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας ... μυστήρια: This is a rather fastidious expression employed here instead of the usual θείας λειτουργίας (cf. above). In the classical times it also meant "religious service", "worship", "sacrifice" (see *LSJ* s. v. ἱερουργέω for classical references). The word enters the Christian vocabulary with the Cappadocian Fathers and then at times assumes the exact meaning of "Holy Eucharist". In other cases, it also means the priestly office (see the *Vita Euthymii patr.* 4 ed. P. KARLIN-HAYTER, p. 23).

Chap. **34**

34.2. θεοφόρος πατὴρ ἡμῶν: A very common expression in hagiography, see among many, the *Vita Euthymii Iunioris* 7 (ed. L. PETIT, p. 174: Ἰωαννικίῳ, τῷ θεοφόρῳ πατρί...), the *Vita Ioannicii* by Sabas 53 (*AASS*, Nov. t. II.1, p. 382B: Μεθόδιος ... θεοφόρος πατὴρ ἡμῶν...). This characterization is also found in the heading of numerous Saints' *Lives* (Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου, βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν Κοσμᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, etc.). Perhaps the expression first appeared in Christian literature as a reference to the participants of the First Ecumenical Council (cf. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Didascalia cccxviii patrum Nicaenorum* [*PG* 28, col. 1644.29-30]: Αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ σωτήριοι διδασκαλίαι τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίων ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα θεοφόρων Πατέρων...).

34.2-3. τὴν ἄνωθεν συμμαχίαν: An expression cherished by the Cappadocian Fathers and John Chrysostom. In hagiography it is rather rare, cf. the *Vita A Athanasii Athonitae* 61 (ed. J. NORET, p. 30).

34.3. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχήν: The word occurs also in **35**.4 but in a different sense. Here the context suggests "prayer" and this is how it has been translated. For the various meanings of the word see L. CLUGNET, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque* (Paris, 1895), p. 59.

34.4. νάρθηκι: The western part of the church building, which is either an open space with a roof supported by columns or a vestibule-like space enclosed by walls, see *ODB*, "Narthex", pp. 1438-39.

34.5. ὠμόφορον or ὠμοφόριον: A liturgical vestment worn by the bishops during the Holy Mass; it is a broad band of cloth made of wool, ornamented with crosses and draped loosely over the neck shoulders and breast. For more, see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *s.v. pallium*, and also *ODB*, "Omophorion", p. 1526. Originally it symbolized the Episcopal authority, power, and the duties of bishops as shepherds of their flocks. Finally, see H. NORRIS, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* (N. York, 1950, rep. Mineola N.Y., Dover Publications, 2002), pp. 21-37.

34.6-8. Ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι κύριος ὁ Θεός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ καταρράξας ὡς ἀστραπὴν οὐρανόθεν τόν ... τραχηλιάσαντα διάβολον: Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Precatio* [sp.], *PG* 64, col. 1064.50-1065.2: Ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι Κύριος, διάβολε, ... καὶ τῇ αὐθεντικῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ῥίψας σε οὐρανόθεν, καὶ ἀπόλυτον παντὶ δείξας. With the same word (ἐπιτιμᾷ) begin also a number of exorcisms, see, for example, S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L'eucologio Barberini gr. 336* [Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" "Subsidia" 80] (Roma, 1995) 115.2, pp. 99-100. For the words ἀστραπή ... τραχηλιάσαντα see the sixth-century commentator Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (ed. H. C. HOSKIER, p. 142.22-25): περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ Κύριός φησιν εἶδον τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς ἀστραπὴν πεσόντα. τί οὖν λέγει καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ / φησὶν ἡ θεία γραφὴ τὸν Σατανᾶν τραχηλιᾶσαι κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ... Note that the underlined words are taken from the Bible, Luc

10:18 ἐθεώρουν τὸν Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα (See also the comments above **13**.1-2). The whole sequence of events described here is a typical case of exorcism performed by St. Leo. Even the act of tying his *pallium* around the neck of Heliodorus that preceded the pronouncement analyzed here may be part of the whole rite of exorcising. Interesting is the presence of the word δεσμεύσας (binding him by force) which may evoke the magical term καταδεσμός (*defixio*, see GRAF, *Magic*, pp. 118-174) and may insinuate a Christian counter-magic to Heliodorus' powers.

34.8. τραχηλιάσαντα διάβολον: It literally means "arch one's neck proudly", suggesting a play on the word "τραχήλου", "neck" that precedes this sentence (see LAMPE, *s.v.*, τραχηλιάω for parallels).

34.12. Ἀχίλλιον (Ἀχήλλιν in *VLA*, p. 96): For the identification of this place in Catania see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", p. 37: "Il luogo chiamato Ἀχίλλης o Ἀχήλλις ... corrisponde alle Terme Achilliane o Achelliane, situate tra l'odierna catedrale e via Garibaldi".

34.12. κολαστήριον ὄντα τῶν καταδίκων: Not much is known about places of execution in Byzantium. A bathhouse could possibly offer the special arrangement for burning a convict (for example, in Genesius' *Βασιλεῖαι* 1.17.77-79 [ed. I. THURN and A. LESMÜLLER-WERNER, p. 16]: Michael the Amorian was condemned to be burned in the furnace of the bath in the palace). Information about executions in Byzantium comes from sporadic mentions in various sources. Already from the early times of the Roman persecutions of the Christians, execution by burning was the second most common one after beheading by sword, see MPOURDARA, *Τὸ δίκαιον*, pp. 93-94. The execution by fire was carried out publicly and there seems to have been no set place for these executions in the various cities of the Roman Empire (*ibid.*, p. 94). In the later Byzantine Empire a number of executions were carried out in the Hippodrome, see, for example, the famous execution of Basil the Bogomil described by Anna Comnene in the *Alexias* 15.10.1.1-4.14 (ed. E. LEIB, vol. 3, pp. 226-229); another place of executions established outside Constantinople by Constantine V is mentioned in the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 64 (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 165 [Greek text] and pp. 263-64 [French transl. and note 403 for further information]).

34.14-15. πῶς τε καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ πότε καὶ διὰ τί τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξωμόσατο: This is another instance, in which our author seems to echo Aristotelian formulations, cf. Aristotle's *Analytica priora* (ed. W. D. ROSS, 32a.16-32a.20): περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου μετὰ ταῦτα λέγωμεν πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἔσται συλλογισμός. λέγω δ' ἐνδέχεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, οὗ μὴ ὄντος ἀναγκαίου, τεθέντος δ' ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν ἔσται διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδύνατον. However, our author's arrangement of the points of the interrogation of Heliodorus is following the pattern described by Hermogenes in his *Περὶ στάσεων* 3.79-82 (ed. H. RABE, p. 47): Τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἔστι μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ κατηγόρου, γίνεται δὲ καὶ αὔξεται, ἀφ' ὧνπερ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀπαίτησις· ἔστι δὲ τάδε· τίς, τί, ποῦ, πῶς, πότε, διὰ τί..., see M. HEATH, *Hermogenes On Issues, Strategies of Argument in Later Greek Rhetoric* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 37 for the translation, and also *ibid.*,

pp. 84-85 for detailed commentary. See also LINDBERG, "Hermogenes", p. 1994: "In the 'particulars from beginning to end' the prosecutor treats the available facts in answering the questions of *who, what, where, how, when, and for what reason*". Since in this particular case the answer to *who* and *what* was already known (Heliodorus and apostasy respectively) what remained to be found or confessed were the questions of *where* (missing or, perhaps implied in the *how*), *how* (πῶς τε καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ) *when* (πότε) and *why* (διὰ τί). Obviously our author had some knowledge of judicial procedure.

This pattern of logical examination and verification of events and deeds was not foreign to earlier Christian Fathers, cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In illud: Domine, non est in homine* (*PG* 56, col. 156.27-32).

This is a penal trial conducted by Leo and not by the civil authorities (see, *ODB*, "Criminal procedure", p. 548). It seems that Heliodorus is condemned to death for having renounced Christ, that is, by being an apostate, a transgression for which the death penalty was provided by the *Ecloga* (see *ODB*, "Execution", p. 768). That he practiced magic (another capital offence) after having denounced Christ, may have been of secondary importance here. Besides, for burning a magician there are a number of precedents the most well-known being the case of a priest in the Cypriot village of Triachia. His case was reported by Anastasius of Sinai, who recorded that in the year 638 this priest was put to trial by the prefect of the island under the accusation of having led magical rites in which he also desecrated ecclesiastical vessels. He was found guilty and condemned to death by fire. See BECK, *KthL*, p. 464, and for the text see F. NAU, "Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)", *OC* 3 [1903], pp. 56-90 esp. 69ff., see also B. R. STOLTE, "Magic and Byzantine Law in the Seventh Century", in BREMMER and VEENSTRA, *The Metamorphosis of Magic*, pp. 111-113, for further legal considerations and issues of civil and ecclesiastical competence. Theophylact Simocatta (*Historiae* 1.11.7.1-21.7, ed. C. DE BOOR, pp. 59-62) also reports that in the reign of Maurice (582-602) another magician was uncovered and was deemed an apostate once his magic practices were made known. The man in question was called Paulinus and on the insistence of the Patriarch John he was tried as an apostate and impaled, while his son was beheaded. For other stories from hagiography, in which magicians are burned alive in earlier centuries see MAGOULIAS, "The Lives of Byzantine Saints", pp. 231 (a sorcerer is consigned to the flames by the Emperor Justinian), and 239. See also DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, pp. 262-272, for a number of early cases of sorcery in which issues of judicial competence were involved.

With regards to apostasy and its consequences, there is a historical incident in fifteenth-century Byzantium, where someone deemed an *apostate* was killed and it is interesting to see the rationale according to which this killing was justified. The whole incident involves the murder of the monk Juvenalius (Ἰουβενάλιος, a disciple of George Gemistos Plethon, *PLP* 92101), which took place in 1450. The events of Juvenalius' execution are of no interest to us. However, there is a letter by George Scholarius, in which he not only approves of the killing of an apostate, but also gives a theoretical justification to it. In his rationale, Scholarius first dis-

tinguishes between the infidels (ἄπιστοι), the heretics (αἱρετικοί) and the apostates (ἀποστάται). In the sequel he gives the definition of what an apostate is, that is, someone who "had thoroughly accepted the [Christian] faith and then he broke from it". And, finally, he discusses the penalties befitting each category. Scholarius certainly does not expect the Church to impose any penalty (he states that the Church does not even allow the state-imposed death penalty for them). Nevertheless, he willingly accepts the death penalty, if it is carried out by the State and is ready to reward the lay rulers for punishing an apostate with death. The reason for this resolution lies in the fact that an apostate "surpasses both heretics and infidels [in evil]". Scholarius' approach is rather cautious and he tries to distinguish between things the Church "does not prescribe" and things that are accepted and approved by the Church. One of these was the killing of Juvenalius who "corrupted the faith" (διαφθείρων τὴν πίστιν) just like Heliodorus "destroyed the city" (διέφθειρε τὴν πόλιν). The Greek text of the letter of Scholarius is published in Sp. LAMBROS (ed.), *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1912-13), pp. 261-62. I wish to thank Prof. Dimitrios Constantelos for bringing to my attention this particular case.

34.15-22. Ἔπειτα προσέταξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ... ἀλώβητος ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς ἐξελθών: Despite the "judicial" form of the procedure, the final resolution of the rivalry between Heliodorus and Leo comes through a test by fire, or *theodicy*, into which Heliodorus was forced by Leo. Under no circumstance was Leo as an ecclesiastical authority in a position to impose or, far more, execute a death penalty (see previous comment), so we have to assume that it was just the test through fire that gave the final solution. For this motif see THOMPSON *Motif Index*, H1573.3.4 (*Wizard [druid] burned, saint saved in test of power of Christianity*), also Q551.9.1 (*Miraculous burning as punishment for opposition to holy person*). One incident of this "test by fire" is recounted by the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 10.190-207 (ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, pp. 30-32), in which a certain ascetic called Coprès claimed that he once challenged a Manichaean to enter a fire with him. The Manichean asked Coprès to go first, which he did. Coprès remained for half an hour in the fire unhurt, whereas the heretic was badly burned just passing through. For more on this kind of contest and its Old Testamental roots see also VAKALOUDI, "Religious syncretism", pp. 19-21.

34.19-20. ὃς δίκῃ δικαίᾳ διὰ πυρὸς παραδόξως ἀναλωθείς, ὡς πυρὸς κληρονόμος, πρὸς πῦρ ἀπεδήμησεν ἀτελεύτητον: For this sentence and its relationship to a similar one above, see the commentary in **12**.13-16. Note also the alliteration of the letters delta, pi and rho.

34.21-25. Ὁ δὲ μέγας ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι ... ἀλώβητος ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς ἐξελθὼν ... παίδων τερατουργίαν: Cf. Daniel 3:19-30. Leo displays the miraculous ability of remaining unharmed by fire (together with his clothes) in one more instance (see the end of next paragraph). Another Saint is also reported to have entered a fiery furnace and exited entirely unharmed, see the entry on St. Anthousa of Mantineon (*BHG* 2029h), in the *Synax. CP*, 848: "... καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [sc. Sisinnius monk of Mantineon], τυποῦται καὶ κανονίζεται καὶ εἰς κλίβανον εἰς τέλος ἐκ-

καέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ κελευσθεῖσα εἰσελθεῖν, ἀβλαβὴς ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέρχεται...", although it is not clear whether here the reference is literal or metaphoric.

34.28. τρισυποστάτου θεότητος: BCXO transmit the rather elaborate τρισυποστάτου θεαρχίας. The BCXO reading of *VLB* must be the first witness to this expression also present in the *Vita Ignatii patr.* 37 (*PG* 105, col. 552D).

Chap. 35

Apart from Leo, a later Sicilian Saint, Elias the Younger, had been invited by the emperor Leo VI to Constantinople. The reason for that invitation was similar to the one that prompted our Saint's invitation. The only difference was that Elias had foreseen that invitation, and, as he had also foreseen, died on his way to Constantinople, see *Vita Eliae Iunioris* 66 (*BHG* 580; ed. G. ROSSI TAIBBI, pp. 104-106).

35.2. μέχρι τερμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης: A proverbial expression denoting wide diffusion of fame, knowledge, information, etc. Cf. among many, Theodorus Studita *Epistula* 7.76 (ed. G. FATOUROS, p. 26): ἀλλὰ καὶ μέχρι τερμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης διαδοθήσονται.

35.2. τότε: The word again suggests distance between the time of the purported events and that of the author.

35.7. χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος: Cited also below in **36**.11-12, in both cases the source of the ability of Leo to perform miracles. For more examples, see also FOLLIERI, *Fantino*, p. 496.

35.9-12. κατέπληττεν ... τερατουργῶν ... περιφέροντα καὶ θυμιῶντα: See the *Life of Symeon the Fool* by Leontius of Neapolis (English translation, by KRUEGER, *Symeon*, p. 152): "'And if you do not want it in my hand, see I will burn incense in my cloak.' And as in the presence of the Lord who preserved the bush [Ex 3:2] and the unburnt boys [Dn 3:19ff.], neither the Saint nor his cloak were burned by the coals". According to BERGER (*Vita Gregorii ep. Agrigentini*, p. 392), this kind of miracle goes back to the Old Testament verse Prov 6:27, ἀποδήσει τις πῦρ ἐν κόλπῳ τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια οὐ κατακαύσει. It is a "Wandermotiv" that first appears in the hagiographical literature of the early fifth century and is taken over later by other hagiographers such as Leontius of Rome (*Vita Gregorii ep. Agrig.*, p. 252), Leontius of Neapolis, and others. However, Berger's discussion of this *VLB* passage is based on the erroneous assumption that *VLB* is a "Metaphrase" of *VLA* and, as a consequence, postulates the *Vita Gregorii* as a possible source for this incident in *VLB* since it is absent from *VLA*. Despite this, Berger's suggestion may be correct, although, as he himself points out, there are many other sources for the same incident (*ibid.* pp. 292-293).

Chap. **36**

36.1. τὸν ... ὑπερθαύμαστον βίον ἐθαύμασαν: Paronomasia.

36.3-8. δαίμονες ... ἐδραπέτευσεν: The extensive alliteration in this passage on the letters theta and delta evokes the language of liturgy and hymnography.

36.5. σεπτῶς ἐσεβάσθησαν: Paronomasia, alliteration of sigma.

36.8-9. Ἑλλήνων πλήθη ... σαφῶς ἐληλεγμένα: Note the alliteration of lambda and eta. For the expression σαφῶς ἐληλεγμένα (which I adopted instead of σοφῶς ἐληλ. BCX), cf. F. DIEKAMP (ed.), *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione verbi* (Münster, 1907), p. 77.4-5: ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ σαφῶς ἐληλεγμένα καὶ παγκοσμίως ἐκκεκηρυγμένα... "Hellenes" can also be translated as "pagans". For "Hellenes" as a synonym of "pagans" see I. OPELT, "Griechische und lateinische Bezeichnungen der Nicht-christen: Ein terminologischer Versuch", *VChr*, 19 (1965), pp. 1-22 and also E. FOLLIERI, "Gli appellativi dei persecutori nel sinassario di Constantinopoli", in *EEBΣ* 39-40 (1972-73), pp. 353-354.

36.10-15. παθῶν ἐσμὸς ἐξ ἀρρωστούντων ἀπελήλαται ... πρὸς εὐδρομίαν καταρτιζόμενοι: A generic list of the miracles performed by Saint Leo. For similar lists of healings cf.: *Vita Petri Atroae* 86 (*BHG* 2365; ed. V. LAURENT, p. 225.6-10), *Vita Petri Athon.* 28 (*BHG* 1505; ed. K. LAKE, p. 36), *Vita Theophanis Conf.* 57 (*BHG* 1787z; ed. V. LATYŠEV, pp. 37-38), *Vita Ignatii patr.* 50 (*PG* 105, col. 564D), *Vita Christophori et Macarii* 22 (*BHG* 312; ed. I. COZZA-LUZI, pp. 94-95), etc.

36.16-17. δι' ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν καὶ προσευχῆς τὴν κατάλληλον θεραπείαν ἐδέχετο: Prayer is a very common method of effecting healing miracles; for the laying on of hands for the same purpose I may cite here a few examples out of many: in the relevant *Vita*, St. Gregory of Decapolis is recorded to have performed three healing miracles with this method (*Vita Gregorii Decapolitae* 34, 56. and 59 [ed. G. MAKRIS, pp. 98, 120, 122]). See also the *Vita Spyridonis ep. Trimith.* 8 (ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, p. 44), where the Saint heals the emperor Constantine the Great in the same way.

36.20. πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνδημίαν: A rare expression that echoes Gregory of Nazianzus' *Orat.* VII 21, 5 (*BHG* 286; ed. F. BOULENGER, p. 48): καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐκδημίαν ἐνδημίαν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον εἶναι φάσκοντος. The alternative ἐκδημίαν preserved by manuscripts BC is rather common in hagiography; see, for example, the *Vita Euaresti* 43 (*BHG* 2153; ed. Ch. VAN DE VORST, p. 322.7-8). Ἐκδημία also seems to have appeared first in the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, see his *Orat.* XXIV *In laudem Cypriani* 17.4-7 (*BHG* 457; ed. J. MOSSAY, p. 76 = *PG* 35, col. 1189.19-22): Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταλύει τὸν βίον — εἰ θέμις τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἐκείνου πρᾶγμα, ἢ πόθου πλήρωσιν, ἢ δεσμῶν λύσιν, ἢ βάρους διάζευξιν —, θαυματουργεῖταί τι). I preferred ἐνδημίαν as the *lectio difficilior.*

Chap. 37

This miracle is following the pattern of the miracle performed by Jesus Christ in Mark 5:25-29, or Luc 8:43-48. Even the wording is similar to that of the Biblical passages. In the hagiographies of 8[th] to 10[th] century there are seven miracles of this kind, apart from this posthumous miracle of Leo: *Vita Eustratii Agauri* 44 (*BHG* 645; ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, p. 395); *Vita Nicetae Mediciensis* 48 (*AASS*, Apr. t. 1, Appendix, p. XXXII D); *Vita Tarasii* 66.8-12 (ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, pp. 160-161); *Vita Sabae Iunioris* 44 (ed. I. COZZA-LUZI, p. 61); *Vita Antonii Cauleae* 15 (*BHG* 139; ed. P. L. M. LEONE, p. 424); *Vita B Athanasii Athonitae* 72 (ed J. NORET, pp. 206-207); *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 51 (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 152). For the posthumous healing miracles as a standard feature of ninth-century Saints' *Lives* see D. ABRAHAMSE, "The Transformation of the Saint in Early Medieval Byzantium", *ByzSt* 2 (1975), p. 127. For this miracle as a *topos* see now PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 228-229.

37.1. ἐκ γένους καταγομένη συγκλητικοῦ: For the senatorial class see *ODB*, "Senator", pp. 1869-70, with bibliography: "in the 7[th]-9[th] century there is no evidence of senatorial or other aristocratic families of long duration... By the 11[th] c. the senatorial class was again institutionalized". Also, according to V. LAURENT, *La vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa* [SH 29] (Brussels, 1956), p. 138, n. 1: "... la classe de synklètikoi était très étendue et comprenait, en plus de très hauts dignitaires, des personages de rang relativement modeste". Additional bibliography *ibid.*, same note. See also MARGAROU, *Τίτλοι*, pp. 133-134, who notes that this title was "not a honorary one, but an appellation indicative of the class to which they belonged" (*ibid.*, p. 134 and nn. 1-7 for further bibliography and esp. n. 7 for more references to hagiographical sources).

37.1-2. Γυνὴ ... ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος γεγενημένη: In hagiography there are a number of miraculous healings of blood flow, but one, at least, appears in part to be very close to the one in *VLB* in terms of vocabulary, cf. *Vita Sabae Iunioris* 44 (ed. I. COZZA-LUZI, p. 61): γυνὴ δέ τις αἱμορροίας πάθει συνείχετο χρόνους πολλοὺς ... καὶ πολλοῖς ἰατροῖς ἅπαντα τὰ αὐτῆς ἀναλώσασα, θεραπείας οὐκ ἔτυχεν.

37.7. Ἀρειανὴν πύλην: For this gate at Catania see ACCONCIA LONGO, "La Vita", pp. 38-39. The Italian scholar suggests that the *Life of Leo* is the unique source for this toponym.

37.8. σημαντῆρος: *VLA* (Chap. 17) explains that it was the custom to toll the *semantron* when the bishop died. See *ODB*, "Semantron", p. 1868, with further bibliography: "The *semantron* was a long piece of iron, bronze or wood that was struck with a hammer to awaken monks and nuns and to summon them to services". For the *semantron* in monasteries see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. VI, pp. 79 and 81-82. However, in the case of Leo of Catania the *semantron* was used in a non-monastic environment. Since the seventh century, if not earlier, *semantra* must have been in use by parish churches. This is something we can deduce from a reference in a passage found in the *Compendium historiarum* (ed. I. BEKKER, p. 329) of Georgius Cedrenus, in which a Christian priest repels and kills a number of

invading Arabs using the *semantron* of a town church. Another occasion in which *semantra* were sounded is recorded in the ancient miracles of St. Anastasius the Persian: when the relics of the Saint were approaching the city of Caesarea in Palestine the people sounded the *semantra* in order both to publicize the event and summon the crowd to the church, see B. FLUSIN, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au debut du VIIe siècle*, vol. 1-2 [Le monde byzantin] (Paris, Editions du C. N. R. S., 1992), p. 131.4. (τά τε ἱερὰ ξύλα σημάναντες). For more about the custom to toll the *semantron* when someone died, see KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, vol. IV, p. 180. See also the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 17 (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 107.25-27): ὁ θεόφρων Στέφανος ... τὸ κροῦσμα δέδωκεν καὶ κατάδηλον ἐκ τούτου ποιεῖ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κοίμησιν, and p. 201 and n. 109 for French translation and commentary on the expression τὸ κροῦσμα δέδωκεν, and also for the use of *semantron* in a lay environment in order to announce the start of the midnight office see FOLLIERI, *Fantino*, pp. 550-551.

37.10. προσέπεσεν τῷ τιμίῳ λειψάνῳ: Prostration before the corpse of a Saint is a rather rare method of healing in miracle accounts. A similar healing method is proximity to and kissing of relics (of a Saint). See a number of such miracles in the *Vita Eustratii Agauri* 43-45, 47, 50 and 51 (ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, pp. 396-399).

Chap. **38**

38.2. μέγας ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι Χριστοῦ: See above **12**.16-17.

38.3-4. θεοειδῶν ἀγγέλων: This expression goes back to the *De coelesti hierarchia* of Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite (ed. G. HEIL and A. M. RITTER, p. 27). However, I haven't encountered in Ps.-Dionysius the exact word arrangement our text presents. The exact same formulation does occur very rarely in 8th to 10th century hagiography, see the *Vita Athanasiae in Aegina* 34 (*BHG* 180; ed. L. CARRAS, p. 224), and in the *Vita Nicetae patricii* 20 (*BHG Auct* 1342b, e; ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, p. 341).

38.7-8. κηδευθέν ... ἐκκομισθὲν ἐναπετέθη θήκαις: Extensive alliteration of theta, the initial letter of θάνατος (death) and also double ρητορικὴ ἐπαναστροφή.

38.8-11. μαρτυρικῷ σηκῷ Λουκίας ... ἀνῳκοδόμησεν: For St. Lucia and her *martyrion*, Leo's burial, and other information that is repeated here see above Chap. 7.14.

38.11-14. Ἔδει γάρ, ἔδει ... ἀναδείκνυσθαι: The meaning of this long sentence is that it is rightful for St. Leo's corpse to share a tomb on earth with a martyr-saint (St. Lucia) just as his soul shares the same abode with them in heavens. The information is not confirmed by any other sources and the relic of St. Leo is not extant.

38.14-17. Τὸ μέντοι τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης αὐτοῦ δαψιλὲς δείκνυται ... σεβασμίας σοροῦ: The whole passage echoes ideas on almsgiving set forth by John Chryso-

stom in his *Hom. XXII in Acta Apostolorum* 4 (*PG* 60, col. 175.60-176.4): Ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ ἐν παραδείσῳ πηγὴ οὐ νῦν μὲν προχέει νάματα, νῦν δὲ ξηραίνεται (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν εἴη λοιπὸν πηγή), ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἀναβλύζει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀεὶ δαψιλέστερον προχείτω τὸ νᾶμα πρὸς τοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιδεομένους ἐλέους, ἵνα μένῃ πηγή. Τοῦτο ἱλαρὸν ποιεῖ τὸν λαμβάνοντα· τοῦτο ἐλεημοσύνη, μὴ σφοδρὸν μόνον προχεῖσθαι τὸ νᾶμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ διηνεκές. See above also the relevant comment in Chap. 7.

38.17. ἀκεσώδυνον φάρμακον: A common expression, see among many the *Vita A Athanasii Athonitae* 205 (ed. J. NORET, p. 99), and the *Vita Ioannis Damasceni* 27 (*BHG* 864; *PG* 94, col. 468B).

Chap. 39

39.1-2. Ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν οὐρανίων ἐραστὰ καὶ κληρονόμε Λέον, ὁ λέων ... καὶ πεποιθὼς ὡς λέων: For the poetic quality of these phrases see above p. 56.

39.6-7. ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγω γενόμενος: This Biblical reference (Luc 24:19) expresses economically the usual hagiographical *topos* of the agreement between words and deeds; for the same *topos* in earlier Saints' *Lives* see FESTUGIÈRE, "Lieux communs", pp. 140-142.

39.7-8. διαλάμπων δίκην ἡλίου πᾶσι τοῖς πέρασιν: Note the alliteration of delta, lambda, and pi, cf. *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph* 16 (ed. G. R. WOODWARD and H. MATTINGLY, p. 226.26-28: ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡλίου φαιδρότερον διαλάμπουσα); the *Vita Michaelis Syncelli* 18 (*BHG* 1296; ed. M. B. CUNNINGHAM, p. 80: τῶν λαμπρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φωστήρων, τῶν δίκην ἡλίου λαμψάντων καὶ φωτισάντων τὴν ὑφήλιον ἅπασαν). In fact, this expression is another *topos* used by hagiographers in the introductory lines of a few Saints' *Lives,* see, for example, the opening line of the *Vita Theodori Studitae* by Michael the Monk 1 (*BHG* 1754; *PG* 99, col. 233A): Πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἁγίων κατὰ διαφόρους χώρας τε καὶ πατριὰς ἐν τοῖς .ἀνόπιν διαλάμψαντες χρόνοις δίκην ἡλίου ταῖς τῶν οἰκείων ἀρετῶν ἀκτῖσι τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας κατεφώτισαν. The same sentence is repeated, almost *verbatim*, by the anonymous author of the *Vita Procopii Decapolitae* 1 (*BHG* 1583; ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, p. 313).

39.10. πρωταποστόλοις: A very rare word. It obviously refers to the Apostles Peter and Andrew.

39.11. θεοπύρσευτε: The word is not found in the *TLG* and it only occurs once more in the *Vita Ioannicii* by Sabas, 19 (*AASS*, Nov. t. II 1, p. 351B). The word is employed by Ioannicius' hagiographer in the part of the narrative in which Ioannicius survives the attempts of a magician called Gourias to poison him.

39.11. πατὴρ χριστομίμητε: Here I have adopted the ungrammatical form πατὴρ of OEV for vocative instead of the correct πάτερ of BX. The main reason is poetic license that allows for some form of *homoeoteleuta* between these two words

(πατὴρ χριστομίμητε) with the two preceding ones (λαμπτὴρ θεοπύρσευτε and even the two above this: ποιμὴν θεοπρόβλητε).

39.11-14. μιμητὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ... προσφύγων θερμότατε: This sentence repeats, slightly altered, the *encomium* bestowed upon St. Leo in Chap. **4** above (see also above, same Chap., for further references to other texts and *Lives*).

39.13. ὀλοθρευτὰ τῶν ἀθέων: I was unable to find any other occurrence of this phrase. It is similar to another one that occurs more frequently in hagiography: ὀλοθρευτὴς τῶν παθῶν, see the *Vita Germani I patr.* 5 (ed. L. LAMZA, p. 206).

39.14-17. εὐμενῶς δέχοιο τὰ παρόντα νηπιώδη ψελλίσματα ... τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτέλειαν: The whole phrase is a variation of the hagiographical *topos* of humility or modesty. It occurs mostly in the beginning of many Saints' *Lives* of the eighth to tenth century, see, for example (with varying formulations): *Vita Tarasii* 1.3 (ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, p. 70: ἄγροικος γλῶσσα), *Vita Ioannicii* by Peter 3 (*BHG* 936; *AASS*, Nov. t. II.1, p. 385C), *Vita Methodii I* 1 (*BHG* 1278; *PG* 100, col. 1245A-B), *Vita Nicetae Mediciensis* 3 (*AASS*, Apr. t. I, Appendix, p. XXII D-E), *Vita Germani Cosinitzae* 2 (*BHG* 698; *AASS*, Mai. t. III, Appendix, p. 7F-8A), and Gregorius Presbyter, *Vita Gregorii Theologi* 1 (*BHG* 723; ed. X. LEQUEUX, p. 120.27-28). For the same *topos* in earlier hagiographies see FESTUGIÈRE, "Lieux communs", pp. 129-131. See also *ODB*, "Modesty, topos of", p. 1387, for secular examples. Finally, see now PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 341-342.

39.16. εἰς τοῦτο πίστει πολλῇ προτρεψαμένοις: The phrase suggests that this was a commissioned work, see above Chap. **1** and Introduction 1b.4d, pp 33-34. For this *topos* at the end of a hagiography see PRATSCH, *Hagiographische Topos*, pp. 342-343.

Chap. 40

40.1-2. ὑπακοὴν ἀντὶ τῆς παρακοῆς μᾶλλον ἑλομένοις: Another *topos* encountered especially in commissioned *Lives*. See, for example, the *Vita Germani I patr.* 1 (ed. L. LAMZA, p. 200), and also the *Vita Gregorii Theologi* 1 (ed. X. LEQUEUX, p. 120.16-17) and the *Vita Tarasii* 70 (ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS, p. 167.4-6).

40.2. παρ' ἀξίαν: It is found already in Plutarch; in hagiography cf. the *Vita Ioannicii* by Peter 72 (*AASS*, Nov. t. II.1, p. 435C), and also the *Vita Iosephi hymnographi* 1 (*BHG* 944; ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, p. 14). Here the author of the *VLB* continues harping on another form of the *topos* of modesty.

40.2. προθυμίας: A subcategory of the modesty *topos*. The author offers his zeal/eagerness to write the *Life* in order to make up for his linguistic/stylistic inadequacy; cf. the *Vita Nicephori I patr.* 1 (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 217), and the *Vita Nicephori Sebazae* 10 (*BHG* 2300; ed. F. HALKIN, p. 30).

40.5-6. τὴν σὴν ἱερὰν πανήγυριν: The work was recited on the Saint's commemoration day. For the reading of a Saint's *Life* on his or her commemoration day see AUZÉPY, *Vita Stephani Iunioris*, pp. 54-55.

40.10-12. ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ ... ἀμήν: A typical conclusion, especially of liturgical texts. See the same phrase with slight variations in the *Vita Stephani Sabaitae* 188 (*AASS*, Iul. t. III, p. 584B), the *Vita Stephani Iunioris* 78 (ed. M.-F. AUZÉPY, p. 177), the *Vita Niconis Metanoeite* 77 (ed. D. SULLIVAN, p. 270), the *Vita Irenae in Chrysobalanto* 24 (ed. J. O. ROSENQVIST, p. 112), the *Vita Macarii Pelecetae* 23 (ed. P. VAN DEN GHEYN, p. 163), the *Vita Theodori Edesseni* 115 (ed. I. POMJALOVSKIJ, pp. 119-120), etc.

* * *

APPENDIX

LAUDATIO LEONIS EP. CATANIAE (*BHG* 981d)
Critical Edition and Translation into English

Two reasons have made the inclusion of the present appendix necessary: first the need to provide a translation and a more detailed commentary to a text that is also part of what we might call the *Leonine* corpus and, second, to improve on the existing edition by F. Ferlauto,[1] which is not without mistakes. I chose to ignore these errors when I worked on the *apparatus criticus* of my edition. For these reasons and because the text itself is not long, a re-edition is warranted.

I have summarized in my introduction the basic points of Ferlauto's brief study of the text. Here I will add a few codicological remarks. The *laudatio* is preserved only in the *codex Lesb. monast. Hypselou* 7 (fols. 50^{v}-53^{r}), which dates to the thirteenth century.[2] Parchment of low quality (there are holes, for example, in fols. 49, and 56), with the text arranged in one column of 35 lines. The script is a small, neat minuscule of the thirteenth century executed by a highly competent scribe, who made very few grammatical errors but may have skipped two or three words or used an exemplar which already had *lacunae*. In a few cases the scribe has inserted an iota subscript in the augmented forms of past tenses of verbs starting with a diphthong, as in the following: fol. 51^{r} l. 3: ᾠήθη; l. 13: περιῄει; fol. 52^{r}, l. 32: ᾔσθετο fol. 52^{v}, l. 16: ᾐδεῖτο; l. 33-34: ᾑρετίσατο. There is also a subscript in the middle and passive second person singular suffix of a verb: fol. 52^{r}, l. 28: ἐκφεύξῃ and fol. 52^{v}, l. 9 παραπεμφθήσῃ respectively. As is evident from my *apparatus criticus*, the corrections I introduced were minimal and, since the text is transmitted by a *codex unicus*, I have kept a number of particular readings, such as the following Κατανέων, εἰδωλολατρία, and ἀναμίξαι.[3] In one or two cases, I have supplemented words that were possibly missing, using parallel or similar passages from other sources. I have adopted in the main text a few corrections made on the manuscript by a slightly later hand. All these corrections are indicated in the *apparatus criticus*.

The text itself is highly rhetorical though not to the point of ever becoming obscure. However, at times the author's predilection for the

---

[1] For a discussion of this edition see above 1b.2e and 1b.4c.

[2] For the manuscript see FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito", p. 97 and n. 1 for more bibliography (which includes EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* I, p. 12 n. 3, p. 516 n. 3 and III, pp. 810-811).

[3] See, however, the remarks of FERLAUTO, "Un encomio inedito", pp. 104-105.

hyperbaton figure of speech makes it difficult to decipher the exact meaning.[4] It is impossible to identify the author, but his writing points to an educated person who consciously tried to emulate the stylistic standards set by *VLB*, (which, as we saw in the Introduction, was the source of *VLL*'s inspiration). As is also evident from the *apparatus fontium*, the author reproduced — slightly altered — a number of phrases from the funerary orations of Gregory of Nazianzus.[5] As it stands, *VLL* may have served as a liturgical reading in lieu of the lengthier *VLB* on the Saint's commemoration day.

For more on the language and the grammar of *VLL*, Ferlauto's Introduction should be consulted.[6] As a final note, I may add that the text originates, in all probability, from Constantinople or a neighboring area. With regard to its dating, any time between the second half of the tenth century (if not later) and the thirteenth century is possible. At this late date, the original ideological function of *VLB* as a piece of crypto-Iconophile literature would have been lost on any audience, so what we have here is a conventional attempt to glorify a Saint — which means that dating him to the time of Leo VI the Wise (886-912)[7] is no different from dating him to the reign of Leo III.

---

[4] See, for example, Chap. 13: ἀποβαλομένη τὴν γυναικείαν ἀσθένειαν ὑπὸ τῆς προθυμίας, βιαστικῶς τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου σκίμποδι ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὠθουμένη προσεγγίζει.

[5] See the references in Chaps. 3-6, 11, 13, 14 and the relevant notes to the translation. The works of Gregory of Nazianzus that appear to have been used most frequently by the *VLL* author are the *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* (*Or.* 43) (*BHG* 245), and the *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* 24) (*BHG* 457).

[6] FERLAUTO, *art. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

[7] See Introduction p. 30, n. 90, and below the text Chap. 8 and the relevant note to the

Correspondence between *VLB* and *VLL*

VLB	*VLL*
Chap. **1-3**	-----
-----	Chap. **1**
Chap. **4**.14-27	Chap. **2**
-----	Chap. **3**
Chap. **4**.27-35	-----
Chap. **5-6**	Chap. **4**
Chap. **7**	Chap. **5**
Chap. **8**	-----
Chap. **9-12**	Chap. **6**
Chap. **13**	-----
Chap. **14**	Chap. **7**.7-9
Chap. **15**.1-11	Chap. **7**.2-7
Chap. **15**.12-17	Chap. **7**.9-11
Chap. **16**	Chap. **8**.1-4
Chap. **17**	Chap. **8**.4-6
-----	Chap. **8**.6-11
Chap. **18**	-----
Chap. **19-27**	Chap. **8**.11-17
Chap. **28-31**	-----
Chap. **32**	Chap. **9**.1-7
Chap. **33**	Chap. **9**.8-23
Chap. **34**.1-14	Chap. **10**
Chap. **34**.15-27	Chap. **11**
Chap. **35**	Chap. **12**.1-13
Chap. **36**	Chap. **12**.13-21
-----	Chap. **13**.1-12
Chap. **37**	Chap. **13**.12-16
Chap. **38**.1-9	Chap. **13**.1-12
Chap. **38**.13-18	Chap. **14**.1-4
Chap. **39**	-----
Chap. **40**	Chap. **14**.5-12

(Fol. 50v)

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΝΗΣ

Δέσποτα εὐλόγησον.

1. Ὅσοι τῶν ὑλικῶν ὀρέξεων[a] τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀπτικὸν[b] ἀπάραντες καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν ὄντως φιλοσοφίαν[c] ἐνήδεσθε, σήμερον πρὸς τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην προθύμως ἐπείγεσθε· συγκαλεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς Λέων, ὁ μύστης καὶ μυσταγωγὸς[d] τῶν ἐπουρανίων, τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν καταγώγιον[e] καὶ τῶν θαυμασίων ἀνεξάντλητον πέλαγος. Ὁ *τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, ἣν ἔπηξε Κύριος,*[f] ἄξιος ἱερεὺς γενόμενος, ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας φερωνύμως τῇ κλήσει τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιφερόμενος, λόγῳ τὸν βίον ἐκόσμει καὶ πολὺ πλέον τῇ πράξει τὸν λόγον.[g] Ἔδει γὰρ τῶν ἐν ῥοῇ, ὡς μὴ ὄντων, καταφρονήσαντα[h] καὶ τὰς ἁπάσας αἰσθήσεις θεαρέστως παιδαγωγήσαντα, βίῳ τὸν λόγον κοσμεῖν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τὸν βίον καὶ τῇ κλήσει τὴν πρᾶξιν, τῇ πράξει δὲ τὴν κλῆσιν οἰκείως δεῖξαι ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

2. Ὁ τοιοῦτος τοίνυν θεοφόρος πατὴρ ἡμῶν[a] ἐκ πόλεως ὥρμητο Ῥαβέννης,[b] θέσει τε καὶ μεγέθει πλεῖστα τῶν ἀγχιάλων πόλεων ὑπερεχούσης, ἐγγύς που τῆς Ἀγκῶνος χώρας διακειμένης, οὐ πολύανδρος οὖσα μόνον καὶ εὐδαίμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολυχρήμων καὶ ἀγαθῶν παντοίων κατάκομος καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἑτέρας τὰ δευτερεῖα ἔχουσα. Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ περιφανεστάτη, ὡς ὁ λόγος, καθέστηκεν, οὐκ ἂν ὅλως πρὸς τὴν ἄνω Σιὼν[c] μεγαλόπολιν ἰσοστάσιος γένοιτο, ἧς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ Θεός, ἐν ᾗπερ καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ πρὶν ἐνθένδε μεταναστῆναι ἐκέκτητο.[d] Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πατρίδος προκρίνειν τὴν γήινον[1] τῷ τῶν γηίνων καταφρονήσαντι[e] καὶ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐγκώμιον ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἀφορμῶν,[g] *ᾧτινι κόσμος ἐσταύρωται,*[f] οὐκ ἔστιν ἁρμόδιον· ἐπεὶ τῷ μετὰ Θεοῦ γενομένῳ, ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει βίῳ τε ἀρρυπάντῳ καὶ καθαρότητι, οὐδεμία ἀφορμὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰς περιφάνειαν[g] περιγενήσεται, τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ αὐλιζομένοις[h] καὶ περιστρεφομένοις ὅσα τοιαῦτα φιλοῦσι καταλιπόντι εἰς ἔπαινον.

1. [a] Proclus, *De providentia et fato* 21.7 (ed. H. Boese, p. 124) || [b] Cf. Joannes Damasc., *Homilia in Sabbatum sanctum* 1 (*PG* 96, col. 601B) || [c] Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In Matthaeum hom.* 8, 5 (*PG* 57, col. 88.17) || [d] Cf. *VLB*, 4.6 || [e] Cf. Joannes Damasc., *Expositio fidei* 87.54 (ed. B. Kotter, p. 200) || [f] Hb 8:2 || [g] Cf. Philo Judaeus, *De Abrahamo* 37.6-38.1 (ed. L. Cohn, p. 9) || [h] Cf. Joannes Damasc., *De octo spiritibus nequitiae* 6 (*PG* 95, col. 81B).

ENCOMION TO SAINT LEO WHO BECAME BISHOP OF CATANIA

Lord bless us.

1. Those who have lifted the soul's eyes [to see] beyond material desires and find pleasure only in true philosophy are today eagerly hastening to a spiritual feast;[1*] for it is Leo who summons us, [Leo] the initiate and instructor[2*] of heavenly [things], a dwelling place of virtues, an inexhaustible sea of wonders. [The one] who became a worthy priest of the *true tabernacle* [that was] *pitched by the Lord*, and whose deeds from an early age were worthy of his name, who adorned [his] life with [his] words and, moreover, [his] words with his deeds. For, since he rejected the ephemeral as unreal and since he disciplined all his senses in a way that was pleasing to God, it was meant to be that he should adorn his words with his life, his life with his words, and his name with his deeds, thus showing, indeed, that the name [Leo] suited him.

2. This God-inspired father of ours hailed from the city of Ravenna, which far exceeded all cities that were near the sea both in its site and its size and was situated somewhere in the vicinity of Ancona.[1*] [Ravenna] was not only populous and favored by fortune, but also extemely wealthy and well endowed with all sorts of goods, second to no other [city] in any respect.[2*] Yet although it was exceedingly prominent, as [has been] said, Ravenna could never be the equal of Heavenly Zion, whose architect and creator is God, and of which [Leo] was a citizen even before his departure from this world. Therefore, for one who has rejected worldly cares, it is not appropriate to choose a home on earth over a heavenly one and compose an *encomium* for him, in *whom the world is crucified*, taking the substance from worldly matters. This is so, because to the individual who has become one with God, inasmuch as this is possible for human nature [to attain] through [an] immaculate and pure life, earthly affairs are no reason for pride. Such a man leaves every [worldly] thing which they love to all those who dwell in the world and are attached to it as subject-matter for their praises.[3*]

2. [a] Cf. *VLB* 34.2 || [b] Cf. *VLB* 4.23 || [c] Cf. Athanasius Alexandrinus, *Expositio in Ps.* 49 (*PG* 27, col. 229.47) || [d] Cf. *VLB* 4.24-28 || [e] Cf. Theodoretus Cyrrh. *Historia religiosa* 31.14.2 (ed. P. Canivet – A. Leroy-Molinghen, p. 292) || [f] Cf. Gal 6:14 || [g] Cf. Basilius Caesariensis, *In XL martyres Sebastenses* (*PG* 31, col. 509A) || [h] Asterius Sophista, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 14.6.10 (ed. M. Richard, p. 109).

3. Οὗτος δὲ ἐκ παιδικῆς (fol. 51) ἡλικίας τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα παιδευθεὶς[a] καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παίδευσιν[b] καὶ τὴν *γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων*[c] ἐκδιδαχθείς, ᾗ ὄντα πεφύκασι, πρὸς τὸ θαυμαστὸν φῶς *τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*[d] ἀπέβλεψεν. Εἶτα πρὸς τὴν ὑψηλήν τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνουσαν ὄντως φιλοσοφίαν[e] ἐχώρησεν, ἐξ ἧς ὑπὲρ ἡδύτητα μέλιτος ἐκτρεφόμενος τῷ εὐδοκίμῳ τῆς περὶ πάντα φιλομαθείας εἰς τελειότητα ἄνεισι· τῇ μὲν πράξει πρὸς θεωρίαν ὁδηγηθείς, τῇ δὲ θεωρίᾳ ἐπισφραγίσας τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς ἐν ἑκάστῳ τούτων τὸ ἄκρον θαυμάζεσθαι.[f] Καί, ἵνα πάντα συνέλω, τοῖς πᾶσι πάντων ἐκράτει[g] ὡς ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕν, ὅσα τῆς χάριτος, ἑνὸς δὲ πάντων ἐλάσσων μὴ δειχθείς, ὡς οὔποτ' ἂν πάντων τις. Τίς δὲ λόγος παραστήσει σαφῶς τὴν περὶ λόγους αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἦθος ἅπαν ἐπαίδευε[h] καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν μετήγαγεν;[i]

4. Ἔδει γοῦν, τὸ λοιπόν, ὡς *λύχνον* διαφανῆ ἐπὶ τὴν χρυσαυγῆ *λυχνίαν τίθεσθαι*[a] καὶ μηκέτι τὴν ὄντως *πόλιν* τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὸ *ὄρους καλύπτεσθαι*,[b] ἀλλ' ὡς διαφανὴς ἥλιος ἐμφαίνειν τὴν τῶν θαυμασίων λαμπρότητα. Τοίνυν Θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος, τὴν ἐπιστασίαν τῆς Κατανέων πόλεως *ἐκ Θεοῦ* μᾶλλον *ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*[c] δεξάμενος, λαμπρὰν ἅμα καὶ περιφανῆ τὴν τῶν θαυμάτων ἐνέργειαν δείκνυσι καὶ ποιμὴν ἄριστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος[d] διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ μέγεθος τοῖς πᾶσι γνωρίζεται, πρᾶος τελῶν καὶ ἀόργητος,[e] συμπαθὴς καὶ ταπεινὸς τῷ φρονήματι,[f] μήτε ἄμετρα συγγινώσκων, μήτε σφόδρα τραχύνων τῷ στύφοντι καὶ αὐστηρῷ τῶν ἐπιτιμήσεων, μήπως τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λυμαίνηται τοὺς πιστεύοντας.

5. *Κατείδωλον*[a] τοίνυν τὴν Κατάνην εὑρὼν καὶ τῇδε κἀκεῖσε περιφερομένην[b] τῷ σάλῳ τῶν κνισῶν,[1] πολυειδῆ μεταχειρίζεται τὴν κυβέρνησιν.[c] Ταῖς γὰρ θεοπνεύστοις αὐτοῦ διδαχαῖς τὸ ἄγριον τοῦ πλήθους ἐκείνων ῥυθμίζων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατανόησιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σκότους

3. [a] Cf. Hippolytus, *Fragmenta in Proverbia* [sp.] 33.31 (ed. H. ACHELIS, p. 169) || [b] Cf. Gregorius Naz., *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* (*Or.* XLIII) 12.2 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 140 = *PG* 36, col. 509C) || [c] Cf. Sap 7:17 || [d] Col 1:5 || [e] Gregorius Naz., *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* (*Or.* XLIII) 23.4 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 174 = *PG* 36, col. 528A) || [f] Cf. *VLB* 4.28-31 || [g] Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* XXIV) 6.14 (ed. J. MOSSAY, p. 50 = *PG* 35, 1176C) || [h] Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* XXIV) 13.21-23 (ed. J. MOSSAY, p. 68 = *PG* 35, 1185A) || [i] Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon* (ed. C. DE BOOR, p. 566.15).

---

5. [1] κνισῶν *supra lineam*: κνίσσεων *cod.*

3. Leo, who had learned from childhood the sacred letters[1*] and been taught the secondary curriculum[2*] and knowledge about beings, in so far as they are beings,[3*] turned his eyes to the admirable light of *the truth of the gospel*. Then he proceeded to the lofty and elevating true philosophy,[4*] which nourished him [with food] sweeter than honey and ascended to perfection through his good reputation for love of learning in all subjects. He [then] was led to theory/contemplation through practice and confirmed practice with theory, so that he was greatly admired in both. Finally, to sum up, he exceeded everyone in all respects because in himself he possessed all that is appropriate to the Holy Grace,[5*] as no other man did, and was never seen inferior as to anyone else, unlike any individual throughout time.[6*] And what can adequately portray his excellence in preaching sermons, through which he edified every aspect of the character of the human beings[7*] and guided them to the orthodox faith?

4. Therefore, it was necessary [that Leo] should be *placed on a* gold-gleaming *candlestick* like a bright *candle* and illuminate the magnificence of wonders like a brilliant sun, and that the true *city* of God should no longer be hidden by a *hill*. Thus, with the consent of God he received the [episcopal] authority of the city of Catania *from the Lord* rather than *from men*, and demonstrated the splendid and remarkable force of miracles, becoming known to all as a faultless and highly respected pastor[1*] because of the greatness of his virtue. He was meek and incapable of anger, sympathizing [with people] and humble in spirit, and neither absolved [sins] without moderation nor imposed excessively bitter and strict penances, lest he lose the faithful by going to one or the other extreme.

5. Since Leo found Catania *wholly given over to idolatry*, driven hither and thither by the frenzy of the sacrificial flames, he took recourse in a variety of measures: by channeling the wildness of the crowd toward an understanding of God through his God-inspired teachings and by

4. [a] Cf. Luc 11:33 || [b] Cf. Mat 5:14 || [c] Cf. Rom 2:29 || [d] Cf. Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* XXIV) 12.24 (ed. J. Mossay, p. 66 = *PG* 35, col. 1184B) || [e] Cf. Greg. Naz., *Funebris in laudem Caesarii fratris oratio* (*Or.* VII) 3.1.7 (ed. F. Boulenger, p. 4 = *PG* 35, col. 757C) || [f] Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *In illud: Exiit qui seminat*, *PG* 61, col. 775.21.

5. [a] Act 17:16 || [b] Cf. Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Historia ecclesiastica* (ed. L. Parmentier – F. Scheidweiler, p. 166.8) || [c] Cf. Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Athanasii* (*Or.* XXI) 36.15 (ed. J. Mossay, p. 188 = *PG* 35, col. 1125C).

τῆς ἀγνωσίας πρὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς τῆς θεογνωσίας[d] μεταγαγών,[2] ὡς ἐκ πολυταράχου ἅλμης τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς θεῖον ὅρμον τῆς εὐσεβείας διέσωσεν. *Ἅρματα δὲ Φαραὼ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν,*[e] τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ξόανα, καταποντίσας ἠφάνισε καὶ Ἰσραηλίτην λαὸν τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας πανσόφως ῥυσάμενος, *ἀληθῆ προσκυνητὴν*[f] τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἀνέδειξε. Τὰ δὲ τῶν εἰδώλων τεμένη[g] εἰς περικαλλεῖς τε *οἴκους Θεοῦ*[h] μεταποιήσας καὶ ἑτέρους σεβασμίους οἴκους μαρτύρων δειμάμενος,[i] περιφανῆ ἐντεῦθεν τὴν Κατανέων πόλιν ἀτεχνῶς ἀποκατέστησεν, ὡς ἔκτοτε μέχρι καὶ νῦν τῇ τῶν ναῶν εὐκοσμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ οὐρανὸν ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς ἀκτῖσι τὴν πόλιν φαιδρύνεσθαι. (fol. 51v)

6. Ἐν τούτοις τοίνυν ὁ μισόκαλος καὶ ἀρχέκακος δαίμων ἡττᾶτο.[a] Αὐτὸς γοῦν, ὁ καὶ πάλαι τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ἐπιφθονήσας ὀργάνῳ τῷ ὄφει χρησάμενος,[b] οὐκ ᾠήθη δεῖν καὶ νῦν τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου οὕτως ἀνεπηρέαστα παριδεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὄργανον τῆς αὐτοῦ καχεξίας τινὰ νεανίαν ἐφεύρατο τῶν εὐπατρίδων καὶ μεγίστων τῆς πόλεως, υἱὸν γυναίου τινὸς πατρικίας, Ἡλιόδωρον τοὔνομα, ὃς ἔρωτι τοῦ τῶν ἐπάρχων τυχεῖν ἀξιώματος ἁλοὺς καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀποτυχών, τινὶ τῶν ἐπαοιδῶν, Ἰουδαίῳ τυγχάνοντι, πρόσεισι, σύμπνῳ τε καὶ ἰσορρόπῳ τῷ Σατανᾷ ὑπάρχοντι· ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὖν μυεῖται καὶ τὸν διάβολον αὐτοψεὶ ἐτεθέατο δύναμιν αὐτῷ παρεχόμενον, οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ χωρεῖν[c] πρὸς τὰ μάταια.[d] Οἷα δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀντίπαλος ἐνήργει, αἰσχρὸν ἂν καὶ λέγειν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως βραχέα τινὰ πρὸς αἰσχύνην αὐτοῦ διελθόντες, τὰ σιγῆς ἄξια πάντα ἐάσομεν.

7. Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος περιῄει φασματοδρομῶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, πῇ μὲν λίθους εἰς χρυσὸν μετατιθεὶς καὶ τούτους ὡς ὁλκὴν χρυσίου τοῖς τραπεζίταις διδούς, χρυσὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀργύρια ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ ἑπομένοις ὁμόφροσι καὶ ὑπουργοῖς διεδίδου. Οἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ χρυσούμενοι λίθοι, ὄντως ἡνίκα παρὰ τῶν λαβόντων εἰς ἔργον ἔμελλον ἄγεσθαι τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἐδείκνυον, λίθοι ἀληθεῖς

5. [d] Cf. Athanasius Alex., *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* [sp.], quaest. 44 (*PG* 28, col. 632A) || [e] Ex 15:4 || [f] Cf. Joh 4:23 || [g] Joannes Damasc., *Passio sancti Artemii* 33 (*PG* 96, col. 1281C) || [h] Cf. Gen 28:17 || [i] *VLB* 7.3ff.

---

5. [2] γαγὼν *supra lineam*: μεταβαλὼν *cod.*

raising it from the darkness of ignorance to the true light of the knowledge of God, he rescued it from the tumultuous sea of superstition [and guided it] into the holy anchorage of piety. He submerged and destroyed the *chariots of Pharaoh and his army,* namely, the statues of demons, and wisely released the people of Israel from idolatry and proclaimed them *true worshippers* of the Holy Trinity. As for the temples of the idols, he transformed them into very beautiful *houses of the Lord* and built other venerable homes to the martyrs, thus making Catania conspicuous, so that since then and up to now the city is brightened by the grace of its temples more than the heavens are brightened by the sun's rays.

6. All the while, the malevolent and mischievous demon was constantly defeated. So he, who of old had envied the first-formed[1*] beings and used the snake as his instrument, now thought it necessary to disrupt the affairs of the Saint [Leo]. Therefore, he [the Devil] found an implement of his ill will [to humanity] in [the person of] a youth from a noble and eminent family, Heliodorus by name, the son of a certain patrician woman. This Heliodorus was seized by a strong desire to obtain the office of eparch [of the city]. But, since he failed in his aim, he approached a magician, who happened to be a Jew and was of one mind and in accord with the Devil. This magician revealed the secrets [to him], and Heliodorus with his own eyes saw the Devil, who gave him the power to perform any profane deed he wished. What kind of deeds the Devil perpetrated through him would be too shameful even to mention. However, I will recount a few brief ones in order to shame him, omitting all that must be passed over in silence.

7. This Heliodorus roamed about, plaguing with apparitions[1*] the entire city [of Catania], some times transforming stones into gold and presenting them as a gold lump to bankers, [and in return] receiving true gold and money. He [then] distributed it to his peers and servants. On the other hand, whenever the real stones that had been tinted gold by him were about to be used [for transactions] by these recipents, they reverted to their own nature, turning into plain stones and were recognized as such,

6. [a] Cf. Joannes Damasc., *Expositio Fidei* 44.70-75 (ed. B. KOTTER, p. 106) || [b] *Anonymus dialogus cum Iudaeis* 4.51-52 (ed. J. H. DECLERCK, p. 31) || [c] Cf. *VLB* 9.1-12.8 || [d] Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (ed. G. HEIL, p. 8 = *PG* 46, col. 900C).

γινόμενοί τε καὶ γνωριζόμενοι καὶ ἡ δημιουργία τοῖς πᾶσι τοῦ πάντων Θεοῦ ἐγνωρίζετο.[a] Πῇ δὲ ταῖς παριούσαις γυναιξὶ ποταμὸν ἐντιθείς, ἀνέχειν τοὺς χιτῶνας μέχρι γονάτων ἐποίει.[b] Ποτὲ δὲ κόρια ἔρωτι σατανικῷ αὐτομολεῖν δι' ἐπῳδῶν παρεσκεύαζεν, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπερορίων, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀφανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περιφανεστέρων.[c] Ὦ, ὅσον κακὸν γοητεία καὶ ἡ δεινὴ τοῦ σώματος ἀπληστία. Εἰδωλολατρίᾳ γὰρ ἀμφότεραι ἐοίκασιν, ἀπολλύουσαι οὐ μόνον εὐήθεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους πολλάκις καὶ εἰς κρημνὸν ἀπωλείας[d] ὠθοῦσαι, εἰσρίπτουσι, καθάπερ τις ἄτακτος πῶλος τὸν ἐπιβάτην.

8. Τοῖς τοιούτοις δεινοῖς σφόδρα πάντων τῶν νουνεχῶν ἀνιωμένων καὶ ἀδυνατούντων ὅ τι καὶ δράσωσιν, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ περιίσταντο· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ ἐν αἰσχρουργίαις ἐπίσημον, τοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνοῦσαν τοῦ δαίμονος δύναμιν, ἀνέφικτος ἦν. Καὶ δῆτα πάντων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ γινομένων, εἰδήσει τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ αὐτῶν ποιμένος, τὰ τούτου τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀναγγέλλουσι.[a] Λέων[b] γάρ, ὁ ἐν βασιλεῦσι σοφώτατος, τὰ σκῆπτρα τότε τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἐπείχετο, ὁ τῶν θείων τοῦ προφήτου Δανιὴλ ὁράσεων ἄριστος ἐξηγητὴς καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἀκριβέστατος ἐφευρετὴς καὶ παλαιῶν νόμων τε καὶ νέων <δι'>[1] ἀνακαθάρσεων ἐπανορθωτής, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ (fol. 52) καὶ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὀλίγοις καλοῖς σεμνύνας τὴν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πίστιν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. Τοίνυν ὁ θεοφιλὴς οὗτος βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου μαθών, ὅσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ φυλακῇ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ τῶν πόλεων ἀγαγέσθαι τοῦτον ὁρίζεται.[c] Καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐτὸν ἀγαγών, ἐπικρατὴς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ὄντως Πρωτεὺς ἄλλος ἐγένετο πολυειδής,[d] ὡς θρυλλεῖται τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ τὰς τῶν κρατούντων χεῖρας εὐθέως ἐξέφευγεν. Ὡς ἕτερος δὲ Σίμων δι' ἀέρος φερόμενος,[e] ἀσινὴς πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἐφέρετο.[f]

7. [a] Cf. *VLB* 15.1-12 || [b] Cf. *VLB* 14.1-8 || [c] Cf. *VLB* 15.12-18 || [d] Cf. Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* XXIV) 8.20-24 (ed. J. Mossay, p. 54 = *PG* 35, col. 1177C).

---

8. [1] *addidi.*

and in this fashion the creation of God of all was revealed to all.[2*] Another time he [Heliodorus] caused a river to appear to some women who were passing, which forced them to lift their tunics up to their knees. Another time he compelled, through his incantations, young maidens, from Catania and beyond, both noble and humble, to leave [their homes, stirred by] satanic lust.[3*] Oh! what evils are magic and the terrible lust of the body! For both resemble idolatry, destroying not only simpler [people], but also, quite often, prudent ones by driving them and throwing them over the cliffs of doom, just as a disorderly mule [throws] its rider.

8. Since all sensible men were extremely distressed by these terrible deeds but incapable of taking action, they reached an impasse; for [Heliodorus] was out of reach, to some because of his noble blood and the notoriety of his shameless conduct,[1*] and to others because of the power of the demon inside him. Therefore, as they were in a quandary, they made all [Heliodorus'] deeds known to the Emperor, with the approval[2*] of their good pastor. For it was Leo,[3*] the wisest among Emperors who then held the scepters of the New Rome. He was the foremost interpreter of the divine visions of the prophet Daniel,[4*] the most scrupulous composer of sacred canons, and the restorer, through interpretation, of old and new laws.[5*] In this way he honored both the orthodox faith and his rule with numerous good deeds. Thus, as soon as this God-loving Emperor[6*] came to know about him, he ordered that Heliodorus should be brought as quickly and with as many precautions as possible to the queen of Cities. But despite having him forcibly conveyed two times to the palace, [Leo VI] could not control him, for Heliodorus became, in effect, a second shape-shifting Proteus,[7*] according to rumours spread by the Greeks, and immediately escaped the hands of those who held him fast. So, borne through the air like a second Simon, [Heliodorus] was transported unharmed to his country.

8. [a] Cf. *VLB* 16.1-10 || [b] Cf. *VLB* 16.11 || [c] Cf. *VLB* 18.1-8 || [d] Cf. Eustathius Thessalonicensis, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (ed. G. Stallbaum, vol. 1, p. 174.20) || [e] Cf. *VLB* 13.15-16 || [f] Cf. *VLB* 21.1-22.14 et 25.1-27.18.

9. Ἐν τούτοις ἀγανακτήσας ὁ ἅγιος, οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν μὴ φέρων ἐδεινοπάθει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος δύναμιν προξενοῦσαν τὰ ὅμοια καὶ ἑτέροις οὐκ ὀλίγοις τὴν ζωὴν ἀπελέγετο.[a] Ὅθεν κἀνταῦθα τὸν θεσμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκπληρῶν, ἐλέγχων, ἐπιτιμῶν, παρακαλῶν οὐκ ἀνίει.[1] Ὁ δὲ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς ματαιότητος ἐκείνης καὶ εἰς Θεὸν ἐπιστρέφειν μὴ βουληθείς, ὡς *ἀσπὶς* ταῖς αὐτοῦ διδαχαῖς *βύσας τὰ ὦτα*[b] καὶ ἀντ' οὐδενὸς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα λογιζόμενος, τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνουθέτητος ἔμεινε.[c] Τί οὖν; Μιᾷ τῶν ἐπισήμων, τοῦ θεοφόρου τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἀπάρξαντος καὶ πλήθους πολλοῦ πρὸς τὸν σεβάσμιον ναὸν ἀθροισθέντος, τότε, ὡς ἔμαθε, πρόσεισι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ὄντως ἀθλιόδωρος, δολερῶς καὶ ὑπούλως τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ λαῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀναμίξαι βουλόμενος· εἴσω δὲ τοῦ νάρθηκος ὡς ἐγένετο, τὰ τῶν ἡμιόνων καὶ ἀτάκτων ὑποζυγίων ἐδείκνυεν.[d] Ὢ *μακροθυμίας Θεοῦ*[e] καὶ ἀνοχῆς πάντοτε φερούσης. Πῶς συνείχοντο πρηστῆρες, πῶς ἠμέλει σκηπτός, πῶς οἱ κεραυνοί, ἀλλ' ἔτι κατείχοντο παρὰ *τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου τὸν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν θάνατον*;[f] Καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἔστη ὁ ἄθλιος, ἀλλ' *ἔθετο εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ στόμα*,[g] τὸν χριστόν φημι κυρίου, καὶ ἄλλεσθαι τὸν θεῖον ποιμένα σὺν τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ κλήρῳ ποιῆσαι ἔφησεν.[h] Ὢ τῆς εὐηθείας, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἀσεβείας τοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγειν τολμῶντος καὶ πείθοντος ὅτι τὸν μέγαν καὶ περιβόητον *Θεοῦ θεράποντα*,[i] τὸν μέσον ἀγγέλων ἱστάμενον συλήσειν ταῖς αὐτοῦ γοητείαις ἐδόκει ὁ ἄθλιος. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ τὰς τοῦ θείου πατρός, ὡς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως, χεῖρας, ὦ ἀλιτήριε. Καταπόδας γὰρ ἀντάξιος κίνδυνος τῆς σῆς πονηρίας παραγενήσεται. Ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ τῇ ἐστιλβωμένῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥομφαίᾳ[j] διασπαραχθήσῃ ὁ ἄξιος.

10. Καὶ δὴ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου λαοῦ θορυβουμένου ᾔσθετο ὁ τῶν ἀΰλων λειτουργὸς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς ἔμαθεν, ὃν Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιέφερε σύμμαχον, κατὰ τοῦ ἐνσάρκου ἐκείνου δαίμονος ἐπεκάλει· "Ὦ κύριε καὶ τῶν θαυμασίων Θεέ", λέγων, "ὑπόταξόν μοι τὸν εἰς μέμψιν τῆς ἀμωμήτου πίστεως ἄτακτα καὶ βδελυρά, ἀνόσιά τε διαπράττοντα, τὸν τῇ

9. [a] Cf. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* (ed. I. Bekker, p. 206.5) || [b] Cf. Ps 57:5 || [c] Cf. *VLB* 32.3-10 || [d] Cf. *VLB* 33.1-7 || [e] 1 Pet 3:20 || [f] Cf. Ez 33:11 || [g] Cf. Ps 72:9 || [h] Cf. *VLB* 33.10-11 || [i] Par I 16:40 || [j] Cf. Nicolaus I Mysticus, *Epistula* 24.69 (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins – L. G. Westerink, p. 168).

---

9. [1] ἀνίει: ἀνῆει *cod.*

9. All these [incidents] made the Saint indignant and, unable to bear either the perdition [of Heliodorus] or the force of the demon, which caused similar things to many others, he suffered and despaired. Even so, he never ceased to chastize, censure, and implore, thus fulfilling the law of Christ. However, Heliodorus, not wishing to desist from his impiety and return to God, *stopped* his *ears* like an *asp*, paying no heed whatsoever to the words [of Leo], and in his soul remained remorseless. What happened next? On a major feast day,[1*] when the God-inspired [Leo] began the liturgy and a large crowd gathered at the holy church, [Heliodorus] no sooner learned [the news], than this true '*Athliodoros*'[2*] proceeded [to the church], wanting to mingle in a treacherous and deceitful fashion with the Christ-loving crowd. And, once in the narthex, he started behaving like a mule and an unruly beast of burden. Oh, *long-suffering God*, oh, forbearance that tolerates all! How were hurricanes held back, how did lightning not flash, how did thunderbolts not strike but were restrained by the One *who desired not the death of the* sinner? Nor did the wretched one stop there, but *lashed out against heaven*, I mean against Leo, the anointed of the Lord, saying that he would force the divine pastor, along with the most devout clergy, to leap [i.e. like mules]. Oh, how foolish or, rather, how profane were the words of one who dared say such things and mislead [the people], for the wretched one thought his magic would enable him to destroy the great and famous *servant of God*, who ranked among the angels. But, oh sinful one, you shall not escape the hands of the holy father as you escaped the hands of the Emperor, for a punishment worthy of your wickedness will follow at your heels. Soon you will be torn to pieces by the bright sword of God, as you deserve.

10. The minister of spiritual matters, however, perceived that the devout congregation was thrown into confusion, and no sooner did he learn the reason than he invoked God, who was within him, as an ally, against that demon incarnate, saying: "O Lord and God of wonders, subject to me the one whose disorderly, disgusting, and impious deeds are destroying the immaculate faith, the one who through the wickedness of

τοῦ μιαροῦ δαίμονος φαυλ(fol. 52v)ότητι τὸν *περιούσιόν σου λαὸν*[a] ἐξαπατήσαντα".[b] Καὶ αὐτίκα τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἡμέρως καὶ προσηνῶς τὸ ὠράριον αὐτοῦ προσεγγίσας τῷ ἀθλίῳ, τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ περιτίθησι. Καὶ κραταιῶς αὐτὸν κατασχών, ἔφη· "*Ζῇ κύριος*,[c] ὃς οὐκ ἐάσει σε, Ἡλιόδωρε, μῶμον τῇ ἀσπίλῳ πίστει συνάψαι καὶ δαιμονικοῖς ἀλλοιώμασι τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κτίσματα[d] προσκαίρως ἰδιοποιήσασθαι,[1] μηδὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ ποίμνιον ἐπιπλέον φαντάσμασι διασπαράξαι. Ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς κύριον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς *τοῦ πατρός σου τοῦ διαβόλου*[e] ἐμμεῖναι ἀμετανόητα, σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπουργοῖς αὐτοῦ σήμερον τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ παραπεμφθήσῃ".[f, g]

11. Αὐτίκα γοῦν πῦρ ἀναφθῆναι προστάξας ἐν τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ Ἀχιλίου[1] τόπῳ καὶ ζῶντα ἐν αὐτῷ[2] τὸν ἄθλιον ἐμβαλών, οὐ πρὶν ἀνῆκε τὴν χεῖρα ὁ τῶν Σεραφεὶμ[3] ἰσοστάσιος, ἕως οὗ εἰς τέλος ἀπετεφρώθη ὁ τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς ἄξιος.[a] Ἦν δὲ θεωρῆσαι καὶ εἰκάσαι τῇ τοῦ ὁσίου χειρὶ τὸ ὠράριον ἐπιφερόμενον, καθάπερ τὸν τοῦ *Σεραφεὶμ ἄνθρακα*, ὃν *τῇ λαβίδι τοῖς χείλεσιν ὁ Ἡσαΐας*[b] ἐδέδεκτο· ὅλον γὰρ ὅλως σὺν τῇ πανιέρῳ χειρὶ ἐκφλογούμενον οὔτε πυρὸς ἀτμὴν ὑπεδέξατο·[c] ᾔδεῖτο γὰρ τὸ ἔνυλον πῦρ τὸν ἐν μετουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀύλου πυρὸς[d] ὑπάρχοντα, διόπερ τῷ πανιέρῳ δρόσον παρεῖχε, τῷ δὲ ἀναξίῳ τὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου πυρὸς ἅμιλλαν. Τοιαῦτα ὁ τῶν θαυμασίων Θεὸς[e] διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων δείκνυσι· τοιαύτας ἀμοιβὰς οἱ *ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας*[f] ἀπολαμβάνουσι. Κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν ταῦτα ἐγένοντο, πανήγυρις ἐτελεῖτο ἐκ παντὸς γένους καὶ πάσης ἡλικίας ἑόρτιος· πρὸς τὸ εὐθυμότερον γὰρ ὁ εὐσεβὴς λαὸς[g] μεταποιηθεὶς τὸν *ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ* <*διὰ πάντων καὶ*>[4] *ἐν πᾶσιν*[h] εὐφήμει Θεόν.

10. [a] Cf. Deut 7:6, 14:2, etc. || [b] Cf. *VLB* 34.1-3 || [c] Iud 8:19 || [d] Gregorius Nyss., *De virginitate* 7.1.15-16 (ed. M. AUBINEAU, p. 350 = *PG* 46, col. 353B) || [e] Cf. Joh 8:44 || [f] Cf. Epiphanius Constantiensis, *Homilia in divini corporis sepulturam* [sp.], *PG* 43, col. 460.30-31 || [g] Cf *VLB* 34.4-10.

---

10. [1] ἰδιοποιήσασθαι: εἰδοποιήσασθαι *cod.*

11. [1] ἀχιλΐου: ϊ *supra lineam*, ἀχιλείου *cod.* || [2] αὐτῷ: ἑαυτῶ *cod.* || [3] Σεραφεὶμ: -φὶμ *cod.* || [4] *addidi secutus* Eph 4:6.

the unclean demon has misled your *chosen people*". And immediately, approaching the wretched [one], he, with his hand, placed his *pallium* calmly and gently on [Heliodorus'] neck.[1*] And holding him firmly, he said: "*The Lord lives*, oh Heliodorus, and He will not let you disgrace the immaculate faith and temporarily possess God's creatures by means of demonic deceptions, nor will He let you tear his flock apart with phantoms. Since you have not wished to return to the Lord, but cling to *the* matters *of your father the devil* without remorse,[2*] today you will be sent into eternal fire to join him and his servants".[3*]

11. So he immediately ordered a fire to be lit at a place called Achilion[1*] and, having pushed the wretched one into it, Leo, (who was equal to the Seraphs) did not relax his grasp until the man who deserved eternal fire was finally incinerated. It was also possible to see and discern the pall, which in the hand of the holy one, resembled the *coal* of the *Seraph* placed in the *mouth* of Isaiah with *tongs*; for although, like the hand, it was all on fire, it was not even touched by smoke from the flames, because the material fire was awestruck by the one [Leo] who had been nurtured by the immaterial fire and for that reason meted out all-holy dew to him and the ordeal of eternal fire to the unworthy one. Such are the things that the God of wonders makes manifest through His servants, such are the rewards reaped by the *workers of iniquity*. On the day when all this happened, a festive assembly of people of all ages was being held, and the pious populace, in a change of mood, praised God who is *above all, and for all, and in all.*

11. [a] Cf. *VLB* 34.12-19 || [b] Cf. Is 6:6-7 || [c] Cf. *VLB* 34.15-24 || [d] Cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, (ed. E. DIEHL, vol. 2, p. 9.12) || [e] Gregorius Naz., *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii magni* (*Or.* XLIII) 7.10 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 128 = *PG* 36, col. 501C) || [f] Mac I 3:6 || [g] Cf. Gregorius Nyssenus, *De sancto Theodoro* (ed. J.P. CAVARNOS, p. 64.3 = *PG* 46, col. 740B) || [h] Eph 4:6.

12. Καὶ δὴ ὁ θεοφιλὴς βασιλεὺς ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἡλιοδώρου ἐνηχηθείς, ζήλῳ θείῳ θεσπίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνιέναι τὸν ἅγιον. Ὃς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁδηγηθείς, τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν κατέλαβεν. Ὢ δωρεῶν ὑπερτάτων, ὢ μεθέξεων ἀσυγκρίτων, ὧν Θεὸς δωρεῖται τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. Ἡνίκα γὰρ ὁ πανίερος τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔμελλεν εἰσελθεῖν ἄνθρακας πεπυρακτωμένους τῇ ἰδίᾳ διπλοΐδι ἐνθείς, πρόσεισι τῷ βασιλεῖ θυμιάσων. Ὁ δὲ λίαν ἀγασθεὶς τῇ ἐνούσῃ χάριτι τῷ θείῳ πατρί, σφόδρα γνησίως καὶ φιλοτίμως αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται, ἔκπληξίς τε κατειλήφει τῷ παραδόξῳ θεάματι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζοντας καὶ Θεῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπένεμον.[a] Εἶτα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ὀλίγα τὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀρεστὰ διαλεχθείς, παλινοδεῖν ᾑρετίσατο. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐλογίας τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἧς καὶ λίαν ἐγλίχετο, ἀπολαύσας καὶ δώροις τὸν μέγαν μεγίστοις δεξιωσάμενος, ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ θυμηδίᾳ[b] πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέστειλε. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ μέγας πρὸς (fol. 53) τὸν οἰκεῖον θρόνον αὖθις ὁδηγεῖται καὶ διασῴζεται, ὁ δὲ τῆς Κατάνης λαὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ποιμένα ἀσπασίως δεξιοῦται καὶ ὑποδέχεται, γλιχόμενος πάλιν τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνου διδαχῆς ἐπαπολαύειν, ὡς εἴθιστο, καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδάσκεσθαί τε καὶ καλῶς ποιμαίνεσθαι. *Νόσους* γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ *μαλακίας*[c] ἰᾶτο καὶ *τοῖς πᾶσι πάντα ἐγίνετο*[d] τὸν οἰκεῖον δεσπότην μιμούμενος. Τυφλοῖς παρεῖχε τὸ βλέπειν, κωφοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν, χωλοῖς τὸ ἅλλεσθαι,[e] χηρῶν προΐστατο, ὀρφανῶν τε καὶ πτωχῶν προενόει καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ συγγενὲς εὐσπλαγχνίαν καὶ συμπάθειαν δεικνύων τὰ πρὸς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἐχορήγει.[f]

13. Ἔδει, τὸ λοιπόν, ὡς τὸν *δρόμον τελέσαντα* καλῶς καὶ τὴν *πίστιν φυλάξαντα*[a] καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἐμπιστευθὲν *τάλαντον*[b] πολυπλασιάσαντα, τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης φωνῆς ἐνηχήσασθαι[c] καὶ τὸν τῆς *δικαιοσύνης στέφανον*[a] ἀναδήσασθαι. Ὅθεν, ὡς τῆς ἐπουρανίου Ἰερουσαλὴμ πολίτης,[d] πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἄνεισιν εἰκάδι τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου μηνός, *ἀγγέλων* τῆς μακαρίας ψυχῆς ἐκείνου *προπορευομένων*,[e] ἑπομένων, παρεπομένων καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνερχομένων. Θρῆνος δὲ παρὰ τῶν Κατανέων ἀπαραμύθητος[f] ἦν, οὐ φερόντων τὸ πάθος, τὸν χωρισμόν, τὴν ἀφόρητον θλίψιν, τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκδημίαν μεγάλην ζημίαν ἕκαστος ἡγησάμενος. Ὅμως προεκομίζετο μὲν ὁ ἅγιος χερσὶν ἱεραῖς

12. [a] Cf. *VLB* 35.1-12 || [b] Theodoretus Cyrrh., *Interpretatio in Ezechielem* XIV 35.14-15, *PG* 81, col. 1176B || [c] Cf. Mat 4:23, etc. || [d] Cf. 1 Cor 9:22 || [e] Cf. *VLB* 36.11-15 || [f] Cf. *VLB* 6.17-20.

12. As a result, the God-loving Emperor, who heard all about Heliodorus, with divine fervor ordered that the Saint be invited to the palace.[1*] And Leo, guided by the Lord, arrived at Constantinople. Oh, what great gifts, what exceptional experiences God bestows upon those who love Him! For when holy Leo was preparing to enter the palace, he put redhot embers in his cloak and approached the Emperor to burn incense. And the Emperor was filled with admiration for the grace that was innate in the holy father and welcomed him with exceeding affection and much honor, while the onlookers were astonished by the extraordinary spectacle and gave praise to God. Then, after discussing many God-pleasing matters with the Emperor, Leo decided to embark on his journey home. As for the Emperor, he enjoyed the blessing of Leo (which he much desired), honored the great one with regal gifts, and sent him back to his own church in peace and joy. So the great one traveled home again and arrived safely in his own see, and the people of Catania joyfully received and welcomed their own shepherd, in hopes of once more enjoying his blessed teaching — as was the custom — and of receiving instruction and good guidance. For he used to heal their *maladies* and *diseases* and *was all things to all men* in imitation of his own master. He gave vision to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and [the ability] to leap to the lame; he defended widows, and looked after orphans and the poor and, showing sympathy and compassion for his fellow-humans, provided for their needs.

13. Therefore, since he had *finished* his *course* well, *kept the faith*, and increased the *talent* entrusted to him by the Lord, it was inevitable that he would hear that blessed voice and be crowned with *the crown of righteousness*. Thus, as a citizen of the heavenly Jerusalem, he ascended to it on the twentieth of February, with *angels leading* his blessed soul, following, escorting it, and [all together] rising up to the skies. However, the Catanians lamented inconsolably, because they could not endure that grief, that intolerable sorrow, for each one of them considered his holy death a great loss. The Saint was carried in procession, lifted by holy

13. [a] Cf. 2 Tim 4:7 || [b] Cf. Mat 25:14-23 || [c] Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *Adversus Judaeos VIII* 9 (*PG* 48, col. 942.40-45) || [d] Cf. Didymus Caecus, *Fragmenta in Psalmos* 92.1-3 (ed. E. Mühlenberg, vol. 1, p. 176) || [e] Cf. Ex 14:19, Theodorus Studita, *Epistula* 453.24 (ed. G. Fatouros, p. 642).

ὑψούμενος, ἐσπούδαζε δὲ τὸ πλῆθος,[g] ὁ μὲν τῶν πέπλων αὐτοῦ ἅψασθαι, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἱεροφόρου ἐκείνης κλίνης ἐπιλαβέσθαι, ἄλλος τὴν θέαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνον ἰδεῖν.[g] Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, γυνή τις τῆς Συρακουσῶν πόλεως ὁρμωμένη, αἱμόρροιαν ἔχουσα χρόνον οὔ τι μικρόν, ἀποβαλομένη[1] τὴν γυναικείαν ἀσθένειαν ὑπό τῆς προθυμίας, βιαστικῶς τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου σκίμποδι ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ὠθουμένη προσεγγίζει καὶ ὡς μόνον ἥψατο τοῦ ἀκροπέπλου ἐκείνου, εὐθέως αἱ ῥύσεις τοῦ αἵματος ἔστησαν.[h]

14. Τῆς δὲ ὁσίας ταφῆς τελεσθείσης, ἔκτοτε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ἀκενώτων θησαυρῶν[a] τῆς ἀϊδίου χάριτος ἀναδίδοται ἔλαιον καὶ τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως τῇ θείᾳ ἐκείνῃ σορῷ προσεγγίζουσι δαψιλὲς τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἴαμα γίνεται,[b] εἰς δόξαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα πληροῦντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Ἵλεως δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν γένοιο, ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλή,[c] καὶ ἡμῶν *τὰ διαβήματα* ἱεραῖς σου ἐντεύξεσιν *εὔθυνον*[d] πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον, ἀποπεμπόμενος ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου μηχανήματα καὶ βουλεύματα, χαριζόμενος τελεωτέραν καὶ λαμπροτέραν ἡμῖν τὴν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἔλλαμψιν, ἣν προσκυνοῦμεν, ἣν καὶ σέβομεν καὶ δοξάζομεν, ἀξιωθείημεν δὲ εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοπτοι παραστῆναι[e] τῷ φοβερῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἀδεκάστῳ βήματι[f] τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν αἰωνίων αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύειν· ᾧ πρέπει τιμή, δόξα, κράτος, ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

13. [f] Cf. Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi* [sp.] 27.10-11 (ed. H. ACHELIS, p. 300) || [g] Gregorius Naz., *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii magni* (*Or.* XLIII) 80.1-8 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 300 = *PG* 36, col. 601AB) || [h] Cf. *VLB* 37.1-14.

---

13. [1] ἀποβαλομένη: ἀποβαλλομένη *cod.*

hands, and the crowd hastened to touch his clothes or touch his bier, which bore a holy vessel, or simply to gaze at his face.[1*] While all this was happening, a woman from the city of Syracuse, who had been suffering from hemorrhages for a long time, shook off her feminine weakness through her zeal, and [though] roughly pushed by the crowd, approached the bier of the Saint. Then, no sooner did she touch the edge of his garment than the flow of blood stopped instantly.

14. From the last rites of the sacred burial until now holy oil has flowed from the inexhaustible treasures of the eternal grace that is a panacea for those ailing people who approach that holy coffin in faith, for the glory of Christ our God, who fills all things. Oh holy and sacred master, may you be well disposed toward us and *direct* our *steps* towards the good with your holy intercessions, delivering us from the devices and designs of the adversary, granting us a perfect and splendid illumination of the Holy Trinity, which we worship, venerate and glorify. Finally, may we be deemed worthy to present ourselves pure and innocent before that terrible and impartial tribunal of our God and enjoy the eternal bounty of Him to whom honor, glory and might are due, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit now and forever and down through the ages of ages, amen.

14. [a] Cf. Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *Narratio de imagine Edessena* 42.2 (ed. E. von Dobschütz, p. 73**) || [b] Cf. *VLB* 7.17-26 || [c] Gregorius Naz., *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii magni* (*Or.* XLIII) 82.7 (ed. J. Bernardi, p. 304 = *PG* 36, col. 604D) || [d] Cf. Prov 20:24 || [e] Cf. Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* XXIV) 19.29-39 (ed. J. Mossay, p. 84 = *PG* 35, col. 1193B) || [f] Cf. Joannes Chrysost., *De Lazaro*, *PG* 48, col. 1028.40-41.

NOTES

Chap. 1

1* The sentence clearly indicates that this sermon was also meant for delivery on the Saint's feast-day.

2* Cf. *VLB*, **4**.6 and Commentary.

Chap. 2

1* The information provided here is not very accurate. The distance between Ancona and Ravenna is more than 150 kilometers.

2* In this passage, unlike in *VLB*, the *encomium* pays due tribute to the real home-town of Leo, Ravenna, see Commentary **1**.3-4 and **4**.22-24.

3* Compare the Greek original of these last sentences to Basil's *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses* (*PG* 31, col. 509.13-17): Διότι οἱ εὐφημοῦντες ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἀφορμῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν εὐφημιῶν λαμβάνουσιν· οἷς δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, πῶς δύναταί τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀφορμὴν παρέχειν εἰς περιφάνειαν.

Chap. 3

1* This term, "sacred letters/ἱερὰ γράμματα" refers to the primary/elementary education and mostly encompasses the rudiments of reading and writing. For more see KALOGERAS, *Byzantine childhood education*, pp. 124-133, with detailed bibliography.

2* For the secondary curriculum, termed here ἐγκύκλιος παίδευσις, see KALOGERAS, *ibid.*, pp. 138-141. It is assumed that grammar was the main course taught, followed usually by the other two subjects of the so called *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics).

3* It is unclear to me whether this sentence, despite its Biblical origin, refers to natural sciences, which might imply that Leo was also taught the most advanced part of the curriculum that is the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music).

4* Compare this passage to the Greek text from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* 23.18-22 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 174): Τίς δὲ φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν ὄντως ὑψηλήν τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνουσαν, ὅση τε πρακτικὴ καὶ θεωρητική, ὅση τε περὶ τὰς λογικὰς ἀποδείξεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις ἔχει καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα, ἣν δὴ διαλεκτικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. This passage makes reference to the dialectics but given its context it might refer to some higher philosophical learning.

5* See above Commentary **8**.9, **35**.7, and **36**.10-15.

6* The Greek text repeats various forms of the pronoun πᾶς (*polyptoton* and etymological figure). This contributes to extensive alliteration of pi which continues through the next sentence.

7* Compare the Greek text to the lines of Gregorius Naz., *In laudem Cypriani* (*Or.* 24) 13.22 (ed. J. MOSSAY, p. 68 = *PG* 35, 1185A): τὴν περὶ λόγους φιλοτιμίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἦθος ἅπαν ἐπαίδευσε. In fact this passage of *VLL* borrows a few more words from this part of Gregory's sermon:
- *VLL* καὶ ἵνα πάντα συνέλω, Gregorius Naz., *ibid.*, 1185B: ἵνα ταῦτα συνέλω;
- *VLL* τοῖς πᾶσι πάντων ἐκράτει ... ὡς οὔποτ' ἂν πάντων τις, Gregorius Naz., *ibid.*, 1185A: κατὰ πολὺ τῶν προειληφότων ἐκράτει (ed. MOSSAY, pp. 68-70).

Chap. **4**

1* Cf. again Gregory of Nazianzus, *In laudem Cypriani* 12.21 (ed. J. MOSSAY, p. 66 = *PG* 35.1184B): Εἶτα ποιμήν, καὶ ποιμένων τὸ κράτιστόν τε καὶ δοκιμώτατον.

Chap. **6**

1* I.e. Adam and Eve.

Chap. **7**

1* The Greek word I have rendered in this way (φασματοδρομῶν) is a *hapax* and my translation is only one option out of many possible others. Here I suggest a less plausible one: "Heliodorus roamed about like a phantom throughout the entire city..."

2* Compared to the way this episode is described in *VLB* (Chap. **15**), the present *encomium* offers a more coherent and rational narrative.

3* I have translated σώματος ἀπληστία as "lust", although "greed" is the correct meaning for this word. The context supports both. However, the text here seems to echo the following problematic passage from Gregory of Nazianzus' *In laudem Cypriani* 8.20-24 (ed. J. MOSSAY, p. 54 = *PG* 35, 1177C): Ὅσον κακὸν καὶ γοητεία τούτοις προστιθεμένη, τῶν ἐκείνου τὸ γνωριμώτατον! ὅσῳ δεινότερον καὶ ἀπληστία σώματος, ἣ καὶ τοὺς τἆλλα σοφοὺς ἐκμαίνειν δύναται, καὶ χεῖρον φρονεῖν βιάζεται, καθάπερ ὑβριστὴς πῶλος, τὸν λογισμὸν συναρπάζουσα! The erotic allusions are clearer in this passage.

Chap. **8**

1* "Notoriety of his shameless conduct" hardly fits the context here. It would have been less problematic at the end of this sentence after the words "δαίμονος δύναμιν" but still not perfect. The text obviously is disturbed and there may be a *lacuna* here.

2* This is the translation I have preferred for the word εἰδήσει of the Greek text which is not accurate. The primary meaning of this word is "knowledge", see *LSJ*, *s.v.* εἴδησις.

3* As is obvious from the information provided by the next lines, this is Leo VI (886-912).

4* This is a reference to the so-called oracles attributed to Leo VI the Wise. For more see C. MANGO, "The Legend of Leo the Wise", *ZRVI* 6 (1960), pp. 59-93.

5* The author here refers to the collection of the 113 novels published by Leo and generally known under the title *Collection of Novels.* However its original title was "αἱ τῶν νόμων ἐπανορθωτικαὶ ἀνακαθάρσεις" and they did include a number of purely ecclesiastical decrees (2-17 and 75). The title cited above led me to the emendation I have adopted for this line of the Greek text. For more on the *prooimion* of Leo VI to these novels see A. SCHMINCK, "Frömmigkeit ziere das Werk: Zur Datierung der 60 Bücher Leons VI.", *Subseciva Groningana* 3 (1989), pp. 90-93, and n. 121, see also nn. 150, 159 for other occurrences of the word ἀνακάθαρσις in Leo's legislative work. For a summary of the discussion about these novels, their date of composition and their relation to the other major legislative works of Leo VI, see *ODB*, 1498, *s.v.* "Novels of Leo VI". Note, finally, that the word ἀνακάθαρσις has also the meaning of "clearing up, explanation", see LAMPE, *s.v.*

6* For more on this invocation, see above Commentary, **17**.1-2.

7* For the mythological figure of Proteus there are at least two traditions: in Homer (*Od.* 4, 349ff.), Proteus was a minor sea-god famous for his ability to transform himself into all sorts of different creatures and elements, see Th. W. Allen (ed.), *Homeri Opera,* vol. III (Oxford, Clarendon Pres, 1976^2), pp. 65-68. In other sources, however, he is seen as a virtuous King of Egypt who forced Paris to leave Helen in Egypt and offered her hospitality until Menelaus came and took her back to Sparta. See *OCD*, *s.v.* Proteus.

Chap. **9**

1* The Greek text reads here Μιᾷ τῶν ἐπισήμων and it has to be assumed ἑορτῶν, qualified by the adjective ἐπισήμων. It is difficult to say whether this is used here as a technical term or not. In its technical meaning the word designated any major Christian feasts especially those pertaining to Christ or the Theotokos. *VLB* is more vague (ἑορτῆς τινος τελουμένης), but see the Commentary **33**.5-9.

The *Feast of fools*, which, as I suggest, was alluded to by Heliodorus' behavior, was celebrated in one of the ἐπίσημοι ἑορταί (Christ's circumcision). For more on ἐπίσημοι ἑορταὶ see FOLLIERI, *Fantino*, p. 513.

2* A derogatory pun on Heliodorus' name. The substitution of Helios for Athlios ("pitiful, wretched") makes the name an insult. For a similar case of derogatory "misspelling" involving the name of the Iconophile Patriarch Tarasius (which in Iconoclastic sources was spelled as Ταράξιος or Ταράσσιος = the one who disturbs) see *Vita Tarasii* (ed. St. EFTHYMIADIS), p. 29 and n. 110.

Chap. 10

1* Here it is called ὠράριον while in *VLB* ὠμοφόριον. See Commentary **34**.5.

2* The Greek text reads ἀμετανόητα, an adverbial accusative serving as an adverb of manner. It is worth noting that this particular adverb has been used by a number of early Church Fathers and, especially, by John Chrysostom (see, for example his *In Joannem* 1, *PG* 59, col. 162.63).

3* The way the Greek text is phrased can be translated literally as follows: "today you will be sent into eternal fire together with him and his servants", but this is logically impossible. For this reason I added the words "to join".

Chap. 11

1* See Commentary, **34**.12.

Chap. 12

1* Literally: "be invited to him".

Chap. 13

1* Compare the Greek text of this sentence to the excerpt from Gregory of Nazianzus' *Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni* (*Or.* 43) 80.1-4 (ed. J. BERNARDI, p. 300 = *PG* 36, col. 601AB): Προεκομίζετο μὲν ὁ ἅγιος, χερσὶν ἁγίων ὑψούμενος· σπουδὴ δ' ἦν ἑκάστῳ τῷ μὲν κρασπέδου λαβέσθαι, τῷ δὲ σκιᾶς, τῷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροφόρου σκίμποδος καὶ ψαῦσαι μόνον.

* * *

INDICES

INDEX BIBLICUS

Note: Numbers in boldface indicate Chapters (followed by line number, e.g. **28**.11) of the critical edition of *VLB* (pp. 140-191). Numbers in normal typescript indicate Chapters (followed by line number, e.g. 1.5-6) of the critical edition of *VLL* (pp. 274-288). All other numbers indicate plain pages of the present work.

1) *Septuaginta*

2) *Novum Testamentum*

CITED WORKS

a) Non-Christian Authors

b) Patristic Texts

c) Hagiography

d) Other Works

PROPER NAMES AND REALIA

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

FIGURES OF SPEECH

(Selective)

INDEX GRAECITATIS

a) *VLB* [ῥῆμα]: ***0**, **00**,* refers to a word extant in some manuscripts (among which E is not included) but relegated to the *apparatus criticus*. If a particular word occurs both in the *apparatus* and in the text proper then the word in the *apparatus* is indicated by italicized Chap. and line numbers alone.

b) Numbers after the characters | L or plain L indicate words found in the *Laudatio Leonis* (*VLL* pp. 274-288).

MODERN AUTHORS

D'Aiuto, Fr., 9 n. 5; 10 n. 5.

SUBSIDIA HAGIOGRAPHICA

(ISSN 0777-8112)

1. **Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis.** Pars I: Codices Latini membranei. 2 vol. (1886-1889)
2. **Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi.** 4 vol. (1889-1893)
3. **De codicibus hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans** (1895: repr. 1983)
4. U. CHEVALIER. **Repertorium hymnologicum.** Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes, en usage dans l'Église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. 6 vol. (1892-1921; repr. 1969)
6. **Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis** (1898-1901; repr. 1992)
8. **Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca.** 3e éd. en 1 volume par F. HALKIN (1957; repr. 1985). Voir n° 65.
9. A. PONCELET. **Catalogus codicum hagiograph. latin. bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae** (1909; repr. 1981)
10. P. PEETERS. **Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis** (1910; repr. 1970)
11. A. PONCELET. **Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latin. bibliothecae Vaticanae** (1883; repr. 1910)
13. C. VAN DE VORST – H. DELEHAYE. **Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae Belgii Angliae** (1913; repr. 1968)

13a. H. DELEHAYE. **L'œuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles. 1615-1915.** 2e éd., avec un *Guide bibliographique* mis à jour (1959)

13b. H. DELEHAYE. **Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires.** 2e éd. (1966)

14. H. DELEHAYE. **Les saints stylites** (1923; repr. 1989)
15. C. PLUMMER. **Miscellanea hagiographica Hibernica.** Vitae adhuc ineditae sanctorum Mac Creiche, Naile, Cranat (1925; repr. 1982)
17. H. DELEHAYE. **Sanctus.** Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'Antiquité (1927; repr. 1970)
18. H. DELEHAYE. **Les légendes hagiographiques.** 4e éd., augmentée d'une *Notice de l'auteur* par P. PEETERS (1955; repr. 1973)
19. F. HALKIN. **Sancti Pachomii Vitae graecae** (1932)
20. H. DELEHAYE. **Les origines du culte des martyrs.** 2e éd. (1933; repr. 1976)
21. H. DELEHAYE. **Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique** (1934; repr. 1980)
22. P. GROSJEAN. **Henrici VI Angliae regis Miracula postuma ex cod. Musei Britannici Regio 13. C. VIII.** (1935)
23. H. DELEHAYE. **Étude sur le légendier romain** (1936; repr. 1968)

24. P. PEETERS. **L'œuvre des Bollandistes.** 2e éd. augmentée d'une notice bio-bibliographique des PP. Delehaye et Peeters. Extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (1961; repr. 1968)

26. P. PEETERS. **Orient et Byzance.** Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine (1950)

27. P. PEETERS. **Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales.** 2 vol. (1951)

28. W. W. HEIST. **Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae** ex cod. olim Salmanticensi, nunc Bruxellensi (1965)

29. V. LAURENT. **La Vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa** (1956)

30. G. GARITTE. **Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34, Xe s.** (1958)

31. V. LAURENT. **La Vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de S. Pierre d'Atroa** (1958)

32. P. VAN DEN VEN. **La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon stylite le Jeune.** 2 vol. (1962-1970)

33. É. DE STRYCKER. **La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques** (1961)

35. E. HONIGMANN. **Trois mémoires posthumes d'histoire et de géographie de l'Orient chrétien.** Extr. des *Mémoires de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique* (1961; repr. 1980)

36. J.-C. GUY. **Recherches sur la tradition grecque des *Apophthegmata Patrum.*** 2e éd. avec des Compléments (1984)

37. M. COENS. **Recueil d'études bollandiennes** (1963)

38. F. HALKIN. **Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou** (1963)

39. É. SARGOLOGOS. **La Vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin** (1964; repr. 1983)

40. J. DUBOIS. **Le Martyrologe d'Usuard** (1965)

41. F. HALKIN. **Euphémie de Chalcédoine** (1965)

42. H. DELEHAYE. **Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine** (1966)

43. B. DE GAIFFIER. **Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie** (1967)

44. F. HALKIN. **Manuscrits grecs de Paris** (1968)

45. J.-M. SAUGET. **Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XIe-XVIIe s.)** (1969)

46. H. VAN CRANENBURGH. **Vie latine de saint Pachôme,** traduite du grec par Denys le Petit (1969)

48. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE. **Vie de Théodore de Sykéon.** 2 vol. (1970)

49. I. SHAHÎD. **The Martyrs of Najrân.** New Documents (1971)

50. J. VAN DER STRAETEN. **Manuscrits hagiographiques d'Arras et de Boulogne-sur-Mer.** Avec quelques textes inédits (1971)

51. F. HALKIN. **Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine** (1971)

52. B. DE GAIFFIER. **Recherches d'hagiographie latine** (1971)

53. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE. **Historia Monachorum in Aegypto.** Édition critique du texte grec et traduction annotée (1971; repr. 1981)

54. L. DUQUENNE. **Chronologie des lettres de S. Cyprien.** Le dossier de la persécution de Dèce (1972)

55. F. HALKIN. **Légendes grecques de «martyres romaines»** (1973)

56. J. VAN DER STRAETEN. **Les manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun et Saint-Mihiel.** Avec plusieurs textes inédits (1974)
57. V. SAXER. **Le dossier vézelien de Marie-Madeleine.** Invention et translation des reliques en 1265-1267 (1975)
58. J. J. RIZZO. **The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen by Nicetas the Paphlagonian** (1976)
59. M. AUBINEAU. **Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem.** 2 vol. (1978-1980)
60. F. HALKIN. **Douze récits byzantins sur saint Jean Chrysostome** (1977)
61. B. DE GAIFFIER. **Recueil d'hagiographie** (1977)
62. G. DAGRON. **Vie et Miracles de sainte Thècle** (1978)
63. E. FOLLIERI. **I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo.** 2 vol. (1980)
64. J. VAN DER STRAETEN. **Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers** (1982)
65. F. HALKIN. **Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae** (1984)
66. F. HALKIN. **Catalogue des manuscrits hagiographiques de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Athènes** (1983)
67. P.-H. POIRIER. **La version copte de la Prédication et du Martyre de Thomas** (1984)
68. R. FOLZ. **Les saints rois du Moyen Âge en Occident (VIe-XIIIe s.)** (1984)
69. F. HALKIN. **Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore** (1985)
70. **Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Novum Supplementum.** Ed. H. FROS (1986)
71. F. HALKIN. **Hagiologie byzantine** (1986)
73. H. DELEHAYE. **L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine: les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres.** Conférences prononcées au Collège de France en 1935 (1991)
74. F. HALKIN. **Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine** (1987)
75. P. MARAVAL. **La Passion inédite de S. Athénogène de Pédachthoé en Cappadoce (*BHG* 197b)** (1990)
76. R. FOLZ. **Les saintes reines du Moyen Âge en Occident (VIe-XIIIe s.)** (1992)
77. E. FOLLIERI. **La Vita di S. Fantino il Giovane** (1993)
78. M. CORMACK. **The Saints in Iceland.** Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400 (1994)
79. **Sanctity and Secularity during the Modernist Period.** Six perspectives on hagiography around 1900. Six perspectives sur l'hagiographie aux alentours de 1900. Ed. L. BARMANN - C. J. T. TALAR (1999)
80. R. AIGRAIN. **L'hagiographie. Ses sources - Ses méthodes - Son histoire.** Réimpression inchangée de l'édition de 1953. Complément bibliographique par R. GODDING (2000)
81. B. JOASSART. **Hippolyte Delehaye. Hagiographie critique et modernisme.** 2 vol. (2000)
82. R. GODDING. **Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne** (2001)
83. V. SAXER. **Saint Vincent diacre et martyr.** Culte et légendes avant l'An Mil (2002)

84. C. PASINI. **Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana** (2003)

85. Fr. DOLBEAU. **Sanctorum societas.** Récits latins de sainteté (IIIe-XIIe s.) (2005)

86. P. Ó RIAIN. **Feastdays of the Saints.** A History of Irish Martyrologies (2006)

87. **San Rocco. Genesi e prima espansione di un culto.** Cur. A. RIGON – A. VAUCHEZ (2006).

88. **De Rosweyde aux *Acta Sanctorum*.** La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles. Actes du Colloque international (Bruxelles, 5 oct. 2007). Ed. R. GODDING – B. JOASSART – X. LEQUEUX – Fr. DE VRIENDT (2009).

89. **Odon de Cluny. *Vita sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis*.** Édition critique, traduction française, introduction et commentaires par A.-M. BULTOT-VERLEYSEN (2009)

90. M. GUIDA.n **Una leggenda in cerca d'autore: la *Vita* di santa Chiara d'Assisi.** Studio delle fonti e sinossi intertestuale (2010).

91. **The Greek Life of Leo bishop of Catania (*BHG* 981b).** Text and notes by A. G. ALEXAKIS. Translation by S. WESSEL (2011).

L'album du jubilé:

R. GODDING – B. JOASSART – X. LEQUEUX – Fr. DE VRIENDT – J. VAN DER STRAETEN

Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche (2007)

Les commandes doivent être adressées à:

SOCIÉTÉ DES BOLLANDISTES

Boulevard Saint-Michel, 24 1040 BRUXELLES (Belgique)

FAX: + 32 2 740 24 24 info@bollandistes.be www.bollandistes.be

TABULARIUM HAGIOGRAPHICUM

(ISSN 1379-5279)

1. **Monseigneur Duchesne et les Bollandistes.** Correspondance.
   Présentation, édition et commentaire par B. JOASSART (2002)
2. **Von Hügel, Turner et les Bollandistes.** Correspondance.
   Présentation, édition et commentaire par B. JOASSART (2002)
3. **Érudition hagiographique au XVIIIe siècle. Jean Lebeuf et les Bollandistes.** Correspondance. Présentation, édition et commentaire par B. JOASSART (2003)
4. **Pierre-François Chifflet, Charles Du Cange et les Bollandistes.** Correspondance. Présentation, édition et commentaire par B. JOASSART (2005)
5. **Éditer les martyrologes. Henri Quentin et les Bollandistes.**
   Correspondance. Présentation, édition et commentaire par B. JOASSART (2009).
6. **Entre Constantinople et Athènes. Louis Petit et les Bollandistes. Correspondance d'un archevêque savant (1902-1926)**
   Présentation, édition et commentaire par B. JOASSART (2010).

* * *

ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA

Revue critique d'hagiographie – A Journal of Critical Hagiography

(ISSN 0003-2468)

* * *

Les commandes doivent être adressées à:

SOCIÉTÉ DES BOLLANDISTES

Boulevard Saint-Michel, 24 1040 BRUXELLES (Belgique)

FAX: + 32 2 740 24 24 info@bollandistes.be www.bollandistes.be